

The Revolution.

PRINCIPLE, NOT POLICY: JUSTICE, NOT FAVORS.—MEN, THEIR RIGHTS AND NOTHING MORE: WOMEN, THEIR RIGHTS AND NOTHING LESS.

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The Revolution.

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ELIZABETH CADY STANTON,
PARKER PILLSBURY,
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THEODORE TILTON'S OPINION OF ANNA E. DICKINSON.

[We take the liberty of printing in "THE REVOLUTION" the following private letter to one of its editors:]

NEW YORK, NOV. 1, 1868.

MY DEAR MRS. STANTON: I have just been reading in "THE REVOLUTION" your notice of Anna Dickinson's book. By way of amiable protest, let me say (though not for publication) that you do her so slender a justice as to amount to a positive wrong.

A great moral reform elicits many books and speeches—the best of which are seldom faultless in artistic structure or literary finish. Uncle Tom's Cabin, judged as a mere work of art, seems as much out of shape as a stuffed Christmas stocking in a chimney-nook: nevertheless, among all the fictions that have helped the world, that unpremeditated and extemporaneous book stands second only to the Pilgrim's Progress. Wendell Phillips's political speeches, judged as mere literary essays, abound in almost as much bad grammar as his editorials: nevertheless, among all the statesmen of his country and time, he is the conspicuous chief—the leader of leaders—the bright, particular star of American politics.

There are many precious public utterances on which one never thinks of rendering a verdict of mere literary criticism. Does anybody ever stop to ask whether or not the Declaration of Independence is in good English? Does anybody mourn over the Magna Charta because it is in bad Latin? When the Atlantic Cable reports to the Tribune what John Bright has been saying, does it take that trouble merely because he says it well? Did not our whole nation recognize that Abraham Lincoln's homespun words at Gettysburg were greater than Edward Everett's gilded oration? Once when Father Taylor, in preaching to his audience of seamen, found himself entangled suddenly in a thicket of accumulated clauses, he extricated himself by exclaiming, "I have lost track of the nominative to my verb, but my brethren, one thing I know—I am bound for the Kingdom of Heaven!" That was oratory superior to rhetoric! It was getting the wine of eloquence by crushing the grapes of style.

Now when a speech or sermon or book happens to be so good that one cares nothing for the style in which it is expressed, the substance is thereby proven to be of peculiar and extraordinary merit.

This is just my feeling about Miss Dickinson's story. On taking up the volume, and before knowing or suspecting its drift, I rebelled against the opening chapters because I thought them awkward—as, indeed, they are. But as soon as I discovered the author's object in writing—an object so unexpected, and so much nobler than any mere literary effect—I immediately quenched my disposition to criticize. Her heroic attempt to join the Anglo-Saxon and the Anglo-African blood in a true and lawful marri-

age, and to make fashionable society stand by as a consenting and applauding witness, was a purpose so much more perilous, humane and Christian than was ever undertaken by any other American author, that I said to myself (forgetting all literary merits or defects), "This is the bravest book in American literature." Tell me what New England or Knickerbocker book-maker has ever more nobly and courageously defied American opinion? Not one. And in this illustrious fact lies the chief and precious value of this Quaker girl's book.

But "THE REVOLUTION" takes exception, not so much to Miss Dickinson's style, as to her theme. I confess that this criticism, coming from your pen, surprised me greatly. You intimate that she ought to have turned her book on the pivot of Woman's Rights. But the story, as it stands, is a signal contribution to Woman's Rights. It seeks to lift the most despised race among our countrywomen to a just level with the proudest. If its object had been merely to give to Miss Ercildoune a ballot, its pages would have borne a less emphatic testimony to Woman's Rights than by giving to such a bride as Francesca such a bridegroom as Surrey.

Then, too, as this is a white man's government, I owe to this book a white man's thanks for vindicating a white man's right to marry whomsoever he pleases, provided the lady herself consents. It is impossible for white men—particularly for such as feel a mantling and Tammany pride in their whiteness—to be ever considered a truly superior race so long as they are denied the sacred right of protecting their own private affections by the solemn sanctions of public law. More tyrannous than the worst Radical Republican rule is the public sentiment in the south which forbids many an eminent white Democrat from openly marrying the lady of his heart. What a domestic boon this little book seeks to confer on hundreds and thousands of "nature's noblemen" who were formerly the owners of unmarried brides, and who are now provided with a golden opportunity to wed their own wives.

But I can pardon "THE REVOLUTION's" neglect to point out this one peculiar mission of Miss Dickinson's book, because, my dear Mrs. Stanton, your sympathies with the Democratic party are of so recent an origin that you could hardly be expected to appreciate, in a moment, all the obligations of gratitude which that party ought to feel, as white men, toward the only book in our literature which directly points out to them how to be at the same time both virtuous and happy.

Of course you will accept this carping epistle in the best of humor, because it comes from Your friend and biographer,

THEODORE TILTON.

It is pleasant to know that the Don Quixotes are not all dead yet, that the age of chivalry in which a gallant knight may break a lance in defense of a fair lady is not yet wholly passed. Of course it makes no matter whether the

wrong done is real or imaginary; when the knight is armed cap a pie, in search of adventure, if nothing better crosses his path, he must attack windmills. Thus, our dear friend and biographer, Mr. Tilton, deals us a series of blows for our *complimentary* notice of Miss Dickinson's book, and in so doing, is quite as unjust to us, as he seems to imagine we were to her.

For lack of time we said hastily and concisely what we thought, whereupon we are made the scape goat for the sins of all the critics who have sneered at "What Answer."

As we made no criticism on the grammar or style of the book, all that he says on that point, though true and admirable, has no bearing whatever on us. As to her theme, we simply said that Miss Dickinson would have done herself greater credit had she written out of her own life-experience which has been varied and eventful, as any person can write and speak better of those things they have themselves enjoyed or suffered.

Charlotte Bronte could never have written such a thrilling story as Jane Eyre from any objective point of view. We regret that Miss Dickinson should have selected a theme that all admit was long ago threadbare, and is now completely exhausted.

As to "the heroic attempt to join the Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-African blood"—a certain Will Shakespeare did that better centuries ago than it has ever been done since, because he made his hero so black that no one was deceived, while all our modern artists paint scarce "Anglo-African" enough to swear by. There was more merit in Desdemona's affiliation, for she loved the virtues of the man through the blackness; but we do not see the great compliment to the Anglo-African blood in Miss Ercildoune's veins, when there was so little that no one could see it, and no great bravery on Miss Dickinson's part in effecting such a union. There would have been something heroic in making Francesca coal black, endowing her with every grace and attraction, and then making Surrey courageous enough to face the public sentiment that he would have been compelled to battle at every turn. This would have been a bold stroke at American prejudice, which, after all, is not against the blood but the condition. The simple fact that half the slaves of the South show the Anglo-Saxon blood in their veins proves there is no antagonism in nature, between the races.

The American prejudice against the negro is the same as that of the English against the Irishman, both to be buried alike in civil and political equality. In expressing the wish that Miss Dickinson had written of her own wrongs, of the joys and sorrows of her own girlhood, we did not specially desire "that her book had turned on the point of Woman's Rights, or on giving the ballot to the beautiful Francesca, though had she been the political equal of Surrey she would have made as great changes in the circle of fashion as did O'Connell after the Catholic emancipation act in the British Parliament.

We cannot agree with Mr. T. that giving Francesca to Surrey, in view of our laws on marriage and divorce, was a more emphatic testimony to Woman's Rights than giving her the ballot; neither do we see the great elevation of a marriage contract that deprives one of the parties of every civil right.

A white man may have reason to rejoice in a white man's government, a white man's marriage, and a white man's freedom to love whom

he pleases. As white men already make the laws, we see no reason why the Editor of the *Independent* should suffer any social oppressions. But for women, who has no voice in the matter there is great danger in putting her neck into a yoke where the weight is all on one side.

Francesca the maiden was a more dignified responsible human being in a civil and political point of view than she was as the wife of Surrey, his whiteness notwithstanding.

From the cool reception our democratic friends have given "this little book," we fear they have not appreciated the blessings Mr. Tilton suggests it seeks to confer, but as they are set forth so happily in the above letter we cannot do better than give it a place in our columns.

On one point we must correct Mr. Tilton. He speaks of our *recent* sympathies with the democratic party. We are proud to say that we have had many points of sympathy with the Democratic party for a long time. We always liked the "Declaration of Independence," and what Jefferson, the Martin Luther of the revolution, said on slavery, and his protests, both in church and state, against the old Federal tendency to the continuance of monarchical institutions on this continent.

We liked Gen. Jackson's summary proceeding with the United States Bank and South Carolina Nullification. We liked the New York democracy, when they abolished the property qualification and extended the right of suffrage to all poor white men in this state. We liked Martin Van Buren's able speech in favor of negro suffrage in the New York Constitutional Convention in 1821. We liked the democrats when they abolished the black laws in Ohio. We liked them when they gave us 9,000 votes in Kansas; and when they received our petitions in Congress in '66, and '67. We like the way the New York *World* has treated our question for the last three years. We felt a tender pity for the poor democrats in Tammany when they rejected Miss Anthony's wise counsels, Chief-Judge Chase and a sound platform, for we saw then with anointed vision that their destruction was swift and sure.

And now, as we contemplate their discomfiture in the election returns from every state, we are oppressed with the same kind of feeling that moves us when looking at the picture of Pharaoh and his hosts in the Red Sea.

E. C. S.

FOOLISH FELLOWS.—The New York *Atlas* says the ousted colored members of the Georgia Legislature have held a convention, with other negroes, and made a great fuss over their expulsion. What would the *Atlas* have them do? What would it do if the republicans expelled it, or even its reporter from the Legislature at Albany? What wonder if the negroes in their despair do shriek, "Is there no bolt red with uncommon wrath" for enemies at once so cruel and so unjust!

AN ELOQUENT BLACK MAN.—The Baptist *Watchman and Reflector* says the most eloquent speech made in the recent Missionary Union was delivered by a colored preacher from Liberia, a genuine African, and as unpromising in looks as can be conceived. He sets the rules of phrenology, and almost all other sciences that pretend to judge of character, at defiance. He is tall, slim, and quite lame, eloquent as Cyprian, and swayed the meeting as trees are swayed by the wind."

THE RIGHTS OF WOMAN.

BY MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT—1790.

CHAPTER X.

PARENTAL AFFECTION.

PARENTAL affection is, perhaps, the blindest modification of perverse self-love; for we have not, like the French,* two terms to distinguish

L'amour propre. L'amour de soi même. the pursuit of a natural and reasonable desire from the ignorant calculations of weakness. Parents often love their children in the most brutal manner, and sacrifice every relative duty to promote their advancement in the world. To promote, such is the perversity of unprincipled prejudices, the future welfare of the very beings whose present existence they embitter by the most despotic stretch of power. Power, in fact, is ever true to its vital principle, for in every shape it would reign without control or inquiry. Its throne is built across a dark abyss which no eye must dare to explore, lest the baseless fabric should totter under investigation. Obedience, unconditional obedience, is the catch-word of tyrants of every description, and to render "assurance doubly sure," one kind of despotism supports another. Tyrants would have cause to tremble if reason were to become the rule of duty in any of the relations of life, for the light might spread till perfect day appeared. And when it did appear, how would men smile at the sight of bugbears at which they started during the night of ignorance, or the twilight of timid inquiry.

Parental affection, indeed, in many minds, is but a pretext to tyrannize where it can be done with impunity, for only good and wise men are content with the respect that will bear discussion. Convinced that they have a right to what they insist on, they do not fear reason, or dread the sifting of subjects that recur to natural justice: because they firmly believe, that the more enlightened the human mind becomes, the deeper root will just and simple principles take. They do not rest in expedients, or grant that what is metaphysically true can be practically false; but disdaining the shifts of the moment they calmly wait till time, sanctioning innovation, silences the hiss of selfishness or envy.

If the power of reflecting on the past, and darting the keen eye of contemplation into futurity, be the grand privilege of man, it must be granted that some people enjoy this prerogative in a very limited degree. Everything now appears to them wrong; and not able to distinguish the possible from the monstrous, they fear where no fear should find a place, running from the light of reason as if it were a firebrand yet the limits of the possible have never been defined to stop the sturdy innovator's hand.

Woman, however, a slave in every situation to prejudice, seldom exerts enlightened maternal affection; for she either neglects her children, or spoils them by improper indulgence. Besides, the affection of some women for their children is, as I have before termed it, frequently very brutish; for it eradicates every spark of humanity. Justice, truth, everything is sacrificed by these Rebekahs, and for the sake of their own children they violate the most sacred duties, forgetting the common relationship that binds the whole family on earth together. Yet, reason seems to say, that they who suffer one duty, or affection to swallow up the rest have not sufficient heart or mind to fulfil that one, conscientiously. It then loses the venerable aspect of a

duty, and assumes the fantastic form of a whim.

As the care of children in their infancy is one of the grand duties annexed to the female character by nature, this duty would afford many forcible arguments for strengthening the female understanding, if it were properly considered.

The formation of the mind must be begun very early, and the temper, in particular, requires the most judicious attention—an attention which women cannot pay who only love their children because they are their children, and seek no further for the foundation of their duty, than in the feelings of the moment. It is this want of reason in their affections which makes women so often run into extremes, and either be the most fond, or the most careless and unnatural mothers.

To be a good mother—a woman must have sense, and that independence of mind which few women possess who are taught to depend entirely on their husbands. Meek wives are, in general, foolish mothers; wanting their children to love them best, and take their part, in secret, against the father, who is held up as a scarecrow. If they are to be punished, though they have offended the mother, the father must inflict the punishment; he must be the judge in all disputes: but I shall more fully discuss this subject when I treat of private education, I now only mean to insist, that unless the understanding of woman be enlarged, and her character rendered more firm, by being allowed to govern her own conduct, she will never have sufficient sense or command of temper to manage her children properly. Her parental affection, indeed, scarcely deserves the name, when it does not lead her to suckle her children, because the discharge of this duty is equally calculated to inspire maternal and filial affection; and it is the indispensable duty of men and women to fulfil the duties which give birth to affections that are the surest preservatives against vice. Natural affection, as it is termed, I believe to be a very weak tie, affections must grow out of the habitual exercise of a mutual sympathy; and what sympathy does a mother exercise who sends her babe to a nurse, and only takes it from a nurse to send it to school?

In the exercise of their natural feeling, providence has furnished women with a natural substitute for love, when the lover becomes only a friend and mutual confidence takes place of overstrained admiration—a child then gently twists the relaxing cord, and a mutual care produces a new mutual sympathy. But a child, though a pledge of affection, will not enliven it, if both father and mother are content to transfer the charge to hirelings; for they who do their duty by proxy should not murmur if they miss the reward of duty—parental affection produces filial duty.

A BALTIMORE BRAVE.—The Baltimore *Olive Branch* says that one day during the past week a woman of prepossessing appearance visited the register of the sixth ward, in that city, and astonished that official by requesting him to place her name on the books of registration, so that she might in the future exercise the right of franchise. Were the *Olive Branch* as friendly to Woman's Suffrage as it claimed to be before the recent change in its proprietorship, it would have said a better word for the brave woman than it did. A sneer was once a good deal sharper, however, than it is now; so let her be of good cheer and persist in her just demand until it is granted. It will not be very long.

ANNA ELIZABETH DICKINSON.

BY MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.

(Continued from last week.)

"From Eminent Women of the Age."

FRESH from the victories in New Hampshire and Connecticut, she was announced to speak in Cooper Institute, New York. That meeting in May, 1862, was the most splendid ovation to a woman's genius since Fanny Kemble, in all the wealth of her youth and beauty, appeared on the American stage for the first time. On no two occasions of my life have I been so deeply moved, so exalted, so lost in overflowing gratitude, that woman had revealed her power in oratory,—that highest art to touch the deepest feeling of the human soul,—and verified at last her right to fame and immortality. There never was such excitement over any meeting in New York. Although the hall was densely crowded long before the hour announced, yet the people outside were determined to get in at all hazards,—ushers were beaten down, those without tickets rushed in, and those with tickets were pushed aside, and thousands went home unable to get standing-places even in the lobbies and outer halls.

The platform was graced with the most distinguished men and women in the country, and so crowded that the young orator had scarce room to stand. There were clergymen, generals, admirals, judges, lawyers, editors, the literati and leaders of fashion, and all alike ready to do homage to this simple girl, who moved them alternately to laughter and tears, to bursts of applause and the most profound silence. Mr. Beecher, who was the president of the meeting, introduced the speaker in his happiest manner. For more than an hour she held that large audience with deep interest and enthusiasm, and, when she had finished with a beautiful peroration, the people seemed to take a long breath, as if to find relief from the intensity of their emotions.

Loud cries followed for Mr. Beecher; but he arose, and, with great feeling and solemnity, said, "Let no man open his lips here to-night; music is the only fitting accompaniment to the eloquent utterances we have heard." So the Hutchinsons closed the meeting with one of their soul-stirring ballads, and the audience dispersed.

As none of the materials furnished for this sketch have interested me more than the comments of the press, I give the following. Knowing that Anna Dickinson will be as great a wonder to another generation as Joan of Arc is to this, the testimony of our leading journals to her eloquence and power furnishes an important page in future history:

MISS DICKINSON AT THE COOPER INSTITUTE.

The crowd at Cooper Institute last evening must be truly called immense, no other word being adequate to the emergency. The attraction was an address by Miss Anna E. Dickinson, of Philadelphia, upon the subject of "The Day—the Cause."

She is of medium height, slight in form, graceful in movement; her head, well-poised, is adorned with full and heavy dark hair, displaying to advantage a pleasant face, which has the signs of nervous force and of vigorous mental life. In manner, she is unembarrassed, without a shade of boldness; her gesticulation is simple, drawing to itself no remark; her voice is of wonderful power-penetrating rather than loud, as clear as the tone of metal, and yet with reed-like softness. Her vocabulary is simple, and in no instance can there be seen a straining after effective expressions; yet her skill in using the ordinary stores of our daily language is so great, that

with a single phrase she presents a picture, and delivers a poem in a sentence.

Miss Dickinson shows in her oratorical method the feminine peculiarities which lead her sex to prefer results to preliminaries, the sharply defined success of conclusions to the regular progressing course of previous argument. Her lecture was consequently very effective to the ear, and difficult to report with justice to the speaker. She defined the contest with the South as the struggle between liberty and slavery in the broadest sense of the words, extending to the moral, mental, and social world, and illustrated her position with rapid illustrations to the political history of the last ten years. She then drew a variety of comparisons between the loyalty of the two parties at the North, and in answer to the question what sort of generals each had given to the country, made some hits of great force at many well-known officers, and paid a tribute of praise to others.

It was in this part of her address that the brightness of her wit and the power of condensed expression already alluded to was seen most clearly. A single stroke of the pencil placed not only a name but a character distinctly before the audience, who took quickly, and fully enjoyed every point. The enrolment act, the threats of the Northwest to compromise for themselves and leave New England out in the cold and the present splendid revival of patriotic confidence in the North, were treated with surprising power. The applause which burst from the audience at almost every sentence was more hearty and enthusiastic than even in the excited political gathering of an election season, and was, moreover, applause born of the deepest and best feeling of loyalty. At the conclusion of the lecture, which came to a close with a truly beautiful peroration, the Hutchinson family sang one of their best pieces, and then, by request, followed it with the John Brown song, in the chorus of which the audience joined with a thrilling effect.—*New York Evening Post.*

Her profits from this meeting were nearly a thousand dollars. After her remarkable success in New York, the Philadelphia "Union League," one of the greatest political organizations in the country, invited her to speak in that city. The invitation was signed by leading republicans. She accepted it; had a most enthusiastic and appreciative audience, Judge Kelley presiding, and after all expenses were paid, she had seven hundred dollars. In this address, reviewing the incidents of the war, she criticised Gen. McClellan, as usual, with great severity. Many of his personal friends were present, and some, filled with indignation, left the house, while a derisive laugh followed them to the door. The Philadelphia journals vied with each other in their eulogiums of her grace, beauty, and eloquence. The marked attention she has always received in her native city is alike most grateful to her and honorable to her fellow-citizens.

July came and the first move was made to enlist colored troops in Pennsylvania. A meeting was called in Philadelphia. Judge Kelley, Frederick Douglass, and Anna Dickinson were there, and made most eloquent appeals to the people of that state to grant to the colored man the honor of bearing arms in defence of his country. The effort was successful. A splendid regiment was raised, and their first duty was to serenade the young orator who had spoken so eloquently for their race all through the war. The summer months passed in rest and study.

In September, a field-day was announced at Camp William, Penn. Gen. Pleasanton reviewed the troops. It was a very brilliant and interesting occasion, as many were about to leave for the seat of war. As the day closed and the people began to disperse, it was noticed round that Miss Dickinson was there; a cry was heard at once on all sides,—"A speech! A speech!" The moon was just rising, mingling its pale rays with those of the setting sun, throwing a soft, mysterious light over the whole scene. The troops gathered round with bristling bayonets and flags flying, the band was hushed to silence, and when all was still, mounted on a

gun wagon, with Gen. Pleasanton and his staff on one side, and Gen. Wagner and his staff on the other, this beautiful girl addressed "our boys in blue." She urged that justice and equality might be secured to every citizen in the republic; that slavery and war might end forever, and peace be restored; that our country might indeed be the land of the free, and the home of the brave.

As she stood there uttering words of warning and prophecy, it seemed as if her lips had been touched with a live coal from the altar of heaven. Her inspired words moved the hearts of our young soldiers to deeds of daring, and gave fresh courage to those about to bid their loved ones go, and die, if need be, for freedom and their country. The hour, the mysterious light, the stillness, the novel surroundings, the youth of the speaker, all gave peculiar power to her words, and made the scene one of the most thrilling and beautiful on the page of history.

In the autumn of 1862, she was engaged to go to Ohio, to speak for a few weeks before election, and a large sum of money was pledged for her services. But some Pennsylvania politicians, appreciating her power, and desiring her help at home, decided to outbid Ohio and keep her in her own state. Accordingly she accepted their proposals, and threw her whole energy and enthusiasm into that campaign. She endured all manner of discomforts and dangers in travelling through the benighted mining districts of the state. She met with scorn, ridicule, threats of violence, and more than once was pelted with rotten eggs and stones, in the midst of a speech. But she went through it all with the calmness and coolness of an experienced warrior. One of the committee admitted afterward that Miss Dickinson was sent through that district because no man dared to go. She returned home after weeks of hard labor and intense excitement, weary and exhausted, and though all agreed that the republican victory in that state was largely due to her influence, the committee forgot their promises, and, to this hour have never paid her one cent for her valuable services. Their excuse was, that the fund had been used up in paying other speakers. As if a dozen honorable men could not have raised something in an hour of victory to reward this brave and faithful girl. During the winters of 1863 and 1864, she received invitations, from the State Legislatures of Ohio and Pennsylvania, to speak in their capitals at Columbus and Harrisburg. In January, 1864, she made her first address in Washington. Though she now believed that her success as an orator was established, yet she hesitated long before accepting this invitation. To speak before the President, Chief Justice, Senators, Congressmen, Foreign Diplomats, all the dignitaries and honorables of the government, was one of the most trying ordeals in her experience. She had one of the largest and most brilliant audiences ever assembled in the capitol, and was fully equal to the occasion. She made a profound impression, and was the topic of conversation for days afterwards. At the close of the meeting, she was presented to the President and other dignitaries, and the next day had a pleasant interview with the President at the White House.

As this was one of the greatest occasions of her life, and as she was honored as no man in the nation had ever been, it may be satisfactory to all American women to know by whom she was invited and how she acquitted herself. Accordingly, I give the invitation and some comments of the press:

CORRESPONDENCE.

"Miss Anna E. Dickinson, Philadelphia, Pa.:

"Miss DICKINSON: Heartily appreciating the value of your services in the campaigns in New Hampshire, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and New York, and the qualities that have combined to give you the deservedly high reputation you enjoy; and desiring as well to testify that appreciation as to secure ourselves the pleasure of hearing you, we unite in cordially inviting you to deliver an address this winter at the Capital, at some time suited to your convenience.

Washington, D. C., December 16, 1863.

H. HAMLIN,	SCHUYLER COLFAX,
J. H. LANE,	A. C. WILDER,
JAMES DIXON,	THADDEUS STEVENS,
CHARLES SUMNER,	HENRY C. DEMING,
H. B. ANTHONY,	WILLIAM D. KELLEY,
HENRY WILSON,	ROBERT C. SCHENCK.
JOHN SHERMAN.	J. A. GARFIELD,
IRAH HARRIS,	R. B. VAN VALKENBURG,
BEN. F. WADE,	and 70 other Representatives.
and 18 other Senators.	

"Hon. Hannibal Hamlin, Vice-President of the United States; Hon. Schuyler Colfax, Speaker of the House of Representatives; Hons. J. H. Lane, James Dixon, Charles Sumner, H. B. Anthony, Henry Wilson, John Sherman, A. C. Wilder, Thaddeus Stevens, Henry C. Deming, William D. Kelley, Robert C. Schenck, J. A. Garfield, and others:

"GENTLEMEN: I thank you sincerely for the great and most unexpected honor which you have conferred upon me by your kind invitation to speak in Washington.

"Accepting it, I would suggest the 16th of January, as the time; desiring the proceeds to be devoted to the help of the suffering freedmen.

"Truly yours, ANNA E. DICKINSON.
1710 Locust street, Philadelphia, Jan. 7, 1864."

"The House of Representatives, by a remarkably large vote, have tendered Miss Dickinson the use of their hall for the occasion.

"Admission to the floor of the House, \$1; to the galleries, 50 cents. Tickets for sale at the principal hotels and bookstores."

LETTER ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE

The following capital letter is from *Putnam's Monthly* for November. It will be followed by another in December, which our readers will, no doubt, be impatient to see:

TWO LETTERS ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE.—I

—, —, 1868.

MY DEAR DAUGHTER: You ask me what I think of the modesty and sense of a woman who can insist, in these days, that she is not sufficiently cared for in public and in private, and who wishes to add the duties of a politician to those of a mother and housekeeper.

This is a large question to ask, and a still larger one to answer by letter; but since you have a clear and thoughtful head of your own, and we are widely separated just now and unable to converse together as in times past, I will see what can be said by pen and paper for just the woman you have described.

And let me begin by asking you the meaning of the word politician. Having consulted your dictionary, you reply, "One who is versed in the science of government and the art of governing." Very well. Now, who is thus versed in the science and art of governing, so far as the family is concerned, more than the mother of it? In this country, certainly, the manners, the habits, the laws of a household, are determined in great part by the mother; so much so, that when we see lying and disobedient children, or coarse, untidy, and ill-mannered ones, we instinctively make our comments on the mother of that brood, and declare her more or less incompetent to her place.

Now let me suppose her to be one of the competent ones who, like your Aunt E., has helped

six stout boys and four of their quick-witted sisters all the way from babynood up to manhood and womanhood, with a wisdom and gentleness and patience that have been the wonder of all beholders—and let us think of her as sitting down now in her half-forsaken nest, calm, thoughtful, and matured, but fresh in her feeling as ever she was, and stretching out by her sympathies in many directions after the younglings who have gone each to a special toil, and what wonder if she finds it hard to realize that she is unfitted either by nature or education for the work of law making, on a broader and larger scale than she has ever yet tried.

Her youngest boy, the privileged, saucy one of the crowd, has just attained his majority, we will say, and declaims in her hearing on the incompetence of women to vote—the superiority of the masculine element in politics, and the danger to society if women are not carefully guarded from contact with its rougher elements—and I seem to see her quiet smile and slightly curling lip, while in memory she runs back to the years when said stripling gathered all he knew of laws, country, home, heaven, and earth, at her knee—"and as for soiling contacts, oh! my son, who taught you to avoid these, and first put it into your curly little head, that evil communications corrupt good manners, and that a man cannot touch pitch, except he be defiled."

I have taken the bull by the horns, you perceive, in thus taking our mother from her quiet country home and setting her by imagination among the legislators of the land; but it is just as well, because the practical end of suffrage is, not *eligibility* to office merely, but a larger use of this privilege than most women have ever yet dreamed of, much less desired.

I hope, by the way, that you have not forgotten the unanswerable argument of Mr. Attorney-General Bates on "What constitutes the citizen," which we read together some years since. If it is not fresh in your mind, please read it again, because no woman ought to be ignorant or unmindful of her relations to her government, nor of her rights and duties under it, in times like these, especially, when our country is forming itself anew, as it were, and needs all the wisdom and strength she can gather from every quarter.

And now she is there, we will say, in the legislature of our state—a high-minded, well-bred woman; one who, amid all her cares, has never failed to read the newspapers more or less, and to keep alive her interest in the prosperity of her country, whatever the claims of her numerous family. She is one, too, who has not had the assistance of wealth in doing all this; she is, as you know, straight from the rural districts, a genuine farmer's wife. But she has more leisure now than she once had, and with it there comes a longing for change, for more cultivated society, for recreations and diversions such as her busy hours have seldom afforded her; and just now, by the unanimous vote of her townspeople, she is sent to our glorious old Hub, to spend the winter in considering what the Commonwealth of Massachusetts shall do this year, by legislation, for the public good.

She enjoys right well the prospect of ten or twelve weeks spent at the metropolis, where she may refresh herself, in the intervals of business, by the music of the Great Organ, and where she may command libraries and means of culture hitherto quite beyond her reach, and in whose busy life she may study human character and human activities under new aspects, which ar-

of great interest to her matured and thoughtful mind.

Having secured a home not far from the old State House, she seeks the Assembly Room and meets there gentlemen from all parts of the state—farmers, merchants and mechanics, physicians, teachers and ministers, lawyers and bankers, and they go into debate on such questions as these: Shall our deaf mutes be educated at home, or in the Institution at Hartford, as heretofore? What of the economies of our past practice, and are there better methods of training than those instituted there? State Prison—shall the discipline be penal merely, or reformatory? the institution self-supporting by a system of rigid tasks, or partially supported by the state? what punishment shall be allowed, what religious and moral instruction furnished, and what sanitary regulations enforced? The prohibitory law—has it proved itself adapted to the suppression of intemperance? are its provisions enforced, and why not? Is a special license law better adapted to the desired end, or is there anything which human ingenuity can devise that shall arrest the spread of intemperance over the land? The school for juvenile offenders—is that managed judiciously? Here obviously the great aim should be reformation. Is a system of rewards or punishments, or both together, best adapted to that end? Should boys and girls be associated in the same buildings and classes, and for what length of time should they be retained for improvement before sending them out again into society? Endowments for colleges and other educational institutions supported in whole or in part by the state: shall these be confined to institutions designed exclusively for men, or shall they be applied equally to the education of both sexes? Taxation—how apportioned? What interests can best bear heavy taxation, and is any further legislation needed to secure the right of representation to all who are taxed? Prostitution—shall it be licensed as in the old countries, or left to itself, or subjected to severe penalties? Divorces—by whom granted, and for what cause, and upon what conditions? Common schools and high schools, and the whole system of state education; insane asylums, poor-houses, jail and many other institutions of modern civilization:—in all these objects, you will perceive our mother has a deep and intelligent interest, and it is not difficult to imagine the warm, even enthusiastic energy with which she will give herself to the discussion of the questions involved—some of them the highest that can come before a human tribunal.

If you say, There are other state interests with which she is less familiar, I reply, No one legislator understands the detail of all the business that comes before the House, or is expected to; committees are appointed for specialities, as you know, and composed, or they ought to be, of those whose education and training have fitted them for that special investigation.

Our mother will have her hands full if she should serve on the Committee of Charitable Institutions alone; and none can do better service there than such a wise, prudent, affectionate care-taker as she has ever been. And I could name to you one lady who might be called to sit on the Judiciary Committee, and help to frame and modify the laws without discredit to herself or to the Committee. She is Miss W. of —, of whom you have heard your father speak as a well-read lawyer, and the very able office partner of her father, Judge W.—; and there is many a woman now-a-days whose counsel in the

matter of framing laws ought not to be despised. She need not necessarily perfect herself in the technicalities of a legal education, though some would like well to do that, no doubt; professional gentlemen are generally called upon now by committees at their need; but she can bring a clear, practical, and experienced head and sound heart to the help of many a vexed question. And as to railroad bills and management—would that she might have a voice there; you may be sure that all charters would contain provisions for the comfort and safety of passengers, and the holding of all officials to a strict responsibility for neglect of duty.

And so in all matters pertaining to merchandise and business, which fairly come under state jurisdiction; it is late in the day to assert that women know nothing of these things, and could not learn if they should try. There are too many honest and successful women traders, artists, and litterateurs in every city of the land, and too many men dependent in whole or in part upon their earnings, to give a show of color to such assertions—to say nothing of a whole city full of Parisian women, who have for years demonstrated that the delicious feminine graces, which the world of men are so fearful of losing, are in no danger of being driven out by the practice of honest industries.

On the whole, then, my dear, you begin to perceive that my mind receives no shock when I am charged with the crime of desiring to meddle with politics, and to educate my daughters as well as my sons to take an intelligent, and, if need be, an active part in the government of their country; though I begin to fear, since the receipt of your letter, that my efforts in your behalf have not been crowned with the success I had much reason to hope. However, there is a gallant young husband in the case now, and I am very much mistaken if this is not the chief cause of your present difficulty; so I wish to say further, that I owe my young son-in-law no grudge whatever for this counter influence, nor do I abate one jot my confidence in him as a man of intelligence, integrity and true nobility. The truth is, that one chief reason why your husband, and so many like him, oppose the extension of suffrage is, that their sense of true gallantry, their desire to shield and protect, is violated by their conception of the probable result of a woman's going to the polls. This is certainly a miscoception. Every woman knows in her own heart that she does not hold her purity and delicacy subject to injury by such cause. We know that we have never entered any precinct, however vile and debased, without carrying something of that God-given power of womanhood—of motherhood—with us, which is a greater protection against insult and contamination than all the shields that man can devise. But we ought not to blame men too severely for their reluctance to relinquish this office of protector and guardian, which custom has so long laid upon them as high duty and privilege.

In the days when physical forces ruled the world, men might naturally offer, and women receive with thankfulness, the protection of a strong arm, and become greatly dependent upon it, without serious harm to either sex; but in the day of moral forces it is quite otherwise. This day has come upon us, however, so silently, so gradually, that we ourselves have scarcely recognized that we are now near its noon tide: how then can our fathers, brothers, and husbands be expected to feel its quickening glow and inspiration? It may seem to them a consuming

heat, though to me it is delicious warmth, pure air, God's own blue sky, and his benignant smile over all.

But I must stop here and wait your reply, since on your acceptance of my views thus far stated will depend the courage and enthusiasm with which I shall proceed to develop further my thought on the whole matter of the relation of the sexes to each other and to government. I confess that I have a philosophy of the past and a hope for the future that gives me much peace of mind and satisfaction amid the perplexing and sometimes rampant discussions which fill the land, and it would give me great pleasure to try my theories first upon you, before committing myself to their defence before other tribunals. Moreover, I am persuaded, contrary to the judgment of many earnest advocates of equal suffrage, that women are quite as much responsible for the present condition of affairs as men, and that they, as a body, will be the last to be convinced of their duty in the matter of good citizenship; so I am seriously anxious to make converts to my faith from the young mothers, rather than from any other class. I know, of course, that the power of regulating suffrage now lies wholly with men; that not a single vote can be given, save by them; but I know as well that the minds of all honest, earnest thinkers among them are turned to this subject, and that they are inclined to give it an impartial hearing; and I am convinced that the indifference, not to say opposition, of their wives, mothers, and sisters, stands in the way of their coming to a right solution of the problem before them, beyond anything or all things else.

I beg you, therefore, to give my argument so far a candid consideration, and let me hear from you in reply.

I am always your affectionate

MOTHER.

THE QUESTION OF THE AGE

The New Hampshire Universalist Convention at its last annual meeting adopted unanimously a resolution declaring and approving the equal rights of women with men in the State and the church. Dr. Mercy B. Jackson of Boston, with a note of thanks to the Convention for its noble stand on the subject, writes (under the above heading) the following to the *Ladies' Repository*, an excellent literary magazine in Boston, supported mainly by the Universalist denomination:

The great question of the day is the status of woman. It reaches to the very foundations of society, and overshadows in importance all the other issues of the day.

Men may laugh at it, may refuse to consider it in their societies, either political, medical, religious, or industrial; but like the ghost in Hamlet, it will come up until women are allowed equal rights with men.

It would seem that a nation professedly founded upon equal rights, and governed by the voice of all the people, would not in the face of such declarations deprive one-half of its inhabitants of their rights, and leave them no voice at all in the concerns of the nation, and yet demand of them the same contributions to the support of the government, the same submission to its laws, the same punishment for breaking them, that it requires of them who make the laws!

Taxation without representation brought on the Revolution of our fathers, and resulted in separating the colonies from the mother country, and yet as soon as a new government was formed the same wrong was ingrafted into it, and all the women in the nation made subject to its oppression.

Alas, for human wisdom and human justice! Does not the great Father say, "All souls are mine," and will he not require justice to each other from them all?

Does sex destroy responsibility? Does it cancel obligation? Does it screen from liability to punishment for broken laws? If not, by what right does it take

away all voice in making laws? Why should not woman help to make the laws by which her life may be jeopardized, by which her property may be taken from her, by which her pursuit of happiness may be obstructed?

It may answer for the presidents of colleges to shut their doors in the face of women, who have helped to endow them, for the religious societies to close their pulpits to her, for medical colleges and societies to ostracize her, for industrial colleges not to admit her, but there comes a time in all oppressions when the voice of the oppressed reaches heaven and the fiat of the Almighty goes forth and hurls the oppressor from his throne.

The time has come in this country when women can no longer tamely submit to such injustice, when they must speak and act in this matter or be guilty of helping to fasten the chains upon the whole sex.

Have not the women of America the same interest in her national welfare as the men? Have they not shown as much devotion to the national cause during the bloody war just ended? Have they not borne their share of the burden of taxation, have they not nursed in the hospitals, have they not been martyrs to the cause, have they not borne the privations of absent husbands and sons, yea, even the loss of them, with a heroism that demands an equality with men, in the protection, honors and rewards of the country? And shall they still be kept from the polls, the colleges, the institutes of the land?

I would ask the men of America, living under the freest government in the world, one which leaves nothing to be desired by the male citizens, if it does not bring the blush of shame to their faces when they consider that their wives and their sisters are deprived of their equally inherent right to help make the laws that govern them, to say what shall be done with the money taxation takes from them, to be educated in the colleges endowed by them, to be judged by a jury of their peers, and to stand in all respects their equals *behind and before the law*?

I would beseech those having the power, to use it to promote justice, and thereby take the yoke from the necks of their sisters, and leave them as free as themselves in the pursuit of happiness.

I would call upon all women to arouse from the lethargy induced by a want of participation in the responsibility of making laws, and persistently to demand their equality with man in all that pertains to the rights and immunities of human beings, till their cause is gained and they are placed in a position to maintain it, by having the ballot in their hands, the only weapon that can secure their rights from all aggression. Let them remember, "Who would be free, himself must strike the blow."

LETTER FROM GEO. FRANCIS TRAIN.

DARK CHURCHES AND LIGHT GIN PALACES.—LET US EDUCATE A RACE OF SCEPTICS.—WHY NOT HAVE A MERCER STREET OF MEN FOR WOMEN TO VISIT?—THE ARMY OF WOMEN IN PARAGUAY.—WHY IS IT BLASPHEMOUS TO COMPARE YOURSELF WITH THE SAVIOUR.—THE TEN COMMANDMENTS FOR MY CHILDREN AND THE NEW RELIGION.—LYDIA BECKER, THE ANNA DICKINSON OF ENGLAND.—THE COUNTESS DE PAULA AND MY DARLING SUE BELL.—RUSSIA JOINS AMERICA IN THE REVOLUTION.

DUBLIN, FOUR COURTS MARSHALSEA,
October 16th, 1868.

"THE REVOLUTION" ALL OVER THE WORLD IN SIX MONTHS.

DEAR "REVOLUTION": The most marvellous fact of our time is to see a newspaper take root in all countries, quoted in all languages, known everywhere ten months after it was started, without a dollar of advertising.

I am no advocate of Boomerism, strong-minded women I detest, Mr. George Francis Train's pet newspaper, "THE REVOLUTION," I do not admire (that is my insular ignorance, perhaps), but I am bold enough to hazard the opinion that a woman ought to be permitted to live. We have all of us had mothers, some of us have sisters. In their name we ought to encourage every effort to extend the employment of women. Here it is not so bad as it is in Ireland. The cashiers in coffee-houses, the clerks in railway-offices, the check-takers in theatres, are women. It is considered a humiliation for

a great bearded fellow to stand behind a counter measuring tape. His place is the road or the field, the mine or the ocean. So far I am with women: but when some of them, like Madame Andre Leo at the Salle Vauxhall the other night, plead their right to vote, I ask leave to take my oar out of the galley. A witty rebuke was given to the lady on the spot by a young workman, which sent her back to the natural regions of muslin, and will close my present meanderings therein. "Madam," he said, "surely you would not ask the citizen's right to vote without volunteering for the citizen's duty to fight. We may have a war with Prussia. You send us 600,000 amazons to stand by the side of their 1,200,000 brothers. What then? Shall we repeat the victories of Fleurus and Jemappes? Why, the enemy would be rushing into your arms to embrace you. Impossible, madam, you cannot wear the —." Don't mention it. —Paris Correspondent of "Irishman."

Please do not call it *my* paper. The women of "THE REVOLUTION" own it, edit it, print it, and run it. I am only its Bastile Correspondent. But this French writer seems to ignore the fact of Lopez's army of women.

SOMETHING NOBLER THAN RESTELLISM OR MERCER STREET.

South America has set us a noble example. How much grander this open air, manual labor, than the needle and the novel:

Long before Lopez was so reduced as this, he placed all the local work in the hands of women. Not only did they tend cattle, cultivate *mandioca* and make *yerba*, but he gave them the civil offices of the neighborhoods. They served as local justices, alcaldes, recruiting officers, messengers, hospital servants, ammunition makers, etc., etc. Now, it has been repeatedly published in the *Standard* here that regiments of women are under arms, and are prepared to dispute the passage of the river Tebicuari. At that point, three thousand women are said to be ready for bloody battle. Private letters, also affirm that women soldiers are formed in regiments, officered and armed. It is a matter of doubt whether in contest with the female regiments the allies would be most honored by a defeat or a victory. I shall look up and prepare with great attention any authentic information about engagements with these women.—*N. Y. Herald*.

The women of Sturgis are far ahead of the women of Massachusetts. The women of Mount Vernon are also as wide awake as the women of Kansas. As soon as they begin to move in bodies, the idea will sweep along our political horizon like a whirlwind. Women always dance together, visit together. Let them vote together and work into a new and better life for one half the human race. Kansas must keep in the front rank of Reform. Push on also the Petitions in the District of Columbia. We are a band of sisters. Where are the Hutchinsons? "Clear the track, the TRAIN is coming!!"

THE COSMOPOLITAN MAKES "THE REVOLUTION" ENDORSE HORATIO.

COUNTESS DE PAULA: My candidate is Governor Seymour. I see "THE REVOLUTION" endorsed our views upon the matter, for our Club's chit chat on Seymour is reproduced in that clever paper. Vote for Seymour, ladies, you cannot have Train! Poor Train! I pity his Marshalsea fancy. Come out, my dear fellow, and persecute the flies who teased the lion? Come out, and for auld-lang-syne let us have a peep at you in Paris or in London? The Ladies' Club received your photograph; it is now in the album of celebrities. I put you next to *Latitude*, only you look less eaten up by rats than he did. Let the voice of your little daughter Sue sing to you, in a dream, Charles Mackay's beautiful lines:

"How many joys I owe thee,
Come sit where seas run high,
And count the heaving billows
That break on the shore and die;
Or the grains of sand they fondle
When the storms are over blown."

Thanks, dear Countess, for remembering my darling Sue Belle. I feel sad to night in my low-roofed cell: The candles burn dimly. The wind blows, the shutters rattle, and it is cold and damp. It is very lonely here. So many, many months away from my cottage, down there by the sea. My boys going back to the militia

college at Yonkers. My darling Sue Belle away again to the Priory. My fair wife back to Madison avenue—and all my summer holidays in a British Bastile.

THESE ARE THE COMMANDMENTS I WROTE FOR MY LITTLE CHILDREN.

"THE REVOLUTION" must educate the rising generation to be men and women, as well as to be ladies and gentlemen. These little rules observed in childhood, will tell in after life.

THE CHILD'S POCKET ETIQUETTE, IN TEN COMMANDMENTS.

1. Always say Yes, sir. No, sir. Yes, papa. No, papa. Thank you. No, thank you. Good night. Good morning. Never say How, or Which, for What. Use no slang terms. Remember that good spelling, reading, writing, and grammar, are the base of all true education.

2. Clean faces, clean clothes, clean shoes and clean finger nails indicate good breeding. Never leave your clothes about the room. Have a place for everything, and everything in its place.

3. Rap before entering a room, and never leave it with your back to the company. Never enter a private room or public place with your cap on.

4. Always offer your seat to a lady or old gentleman. Let your companions enter the carriage or room first.

5. At table eat with your fork; sit up straight; never use your toothpick (although Europeans do), and when leaving ask to be excused.

6. Never put your feet on cushions, chairs or table.

7. Never overlook any one when reading or writing, nor talk or read aloud while others are reading. When conversing listen attentively, and do not interrupt or reply till the other is finished.

8. Never talk or whisper aloud at the opera, theatre or public places, and especially in a private room where any one is singing or playing the piano.

9. Loud coughing, hawking, yawning, sneezing, blowing, is ill-mannered. In every case cover your mouth with your handkerchief (which never examine—nothing is more vulgar, except spitting on the floor).

10. Treat all with respect, especially the poor. Be careful to injure no one's feelings by unkind remarks. Never tell tales, make faces, call names, ridicule the lame, or the colored, mimic the unfortunate, or be cruel to insects, birds or animals.

THE STUPIDITY OF SERMONS.

What a pity our clergymen will dwell so much in the skies, and in Jerusalem! Why don't they talk to and not at us? Who cares on which side of the street Mount Calvary is situated. Religious dogmas, cardinal doctrines, biblical references, are all lost on a child. Too much theology destroys all religion. This was the sermon I preached to my boys.

THE NEW RELIGION.

Also my child, commit this short sermon to memory, and teach it to your little friends at school, and you shall receive ten dollars every Christmas:

Don't drink. Don't smoke. Don't chew. Don't swear. Don't gamble. Don't lie. Don't steal. Don't deceive. Don't tattle. Be polite. Be generous. Be kind. Be neat. Study hard. Play hard. Be in earnest. Be self-reliant. Be just and fear not. Read good books. Love your fellow-man as well as God. Love your country and obey the laws. Love truth. Love virtue and be happy.

LET US HAVE SOME MORE SCEPTICS, ALWAYS TREADING ON SOMEBODY'S TOES.

• While America picks me up on the paramour torpedo, France is after me for proclaiming myself without sin. If I would only do something wicked and repent I would be a Christian. Now I am a sceptic.

What on earth could replace George Francis Train in the eyes of his female admirers, if he, through the persecutions of his relentless creditor, should be weak-minded enough to hurry himself up or tumble himself down out of this world? We are not sufficiently acquainted with his merits or demerits to form any idea as to which journey he would take. We have asked several ladies as to what punishment should be condemned the incarcerator of Train. G. F. T. will be glad to hear that some of his Parisian-American friends have decided that his creditor, to whom he, according to his own account,

owes no money, should suffer the most lingering death. As we said last week, the ladies' champion is accused of being blasphemous, in comparing himself with the Saviour. It may be "right smart" to do so, but anything calculated to shock the feelings of others, is, to say the least, bad taste. We are sure that the letter to which we allude has done him injury here, and we regret it. The most righteous cause may suffer from an ill-advised step, and George Francis Train has made and is making so much noise in the world, that there are but too many anxious to "pick hole in his coat." Some people say that G. F. T. must be touched in the head, as otherwise he would not declare himself publicly to be without sin. The ladies, however, defend him most valiantly, "He's a duck, he's a deer, etc.—Paris Correspondent *London Cosmopolitan*.

Created in his image. I try to follow His noble example. He loved Mary. I love Willie. He didn't smoke. Neither do I. He did drink wine. I do not. He disputed with the elders. So do I. He was a leader of the people. So am I. I practice what I preach. So did He. I never did a wrong act. Neither did He. No Magdalen ever called on me. He knew several. He cured the sick. So do I. Wait till my Turkish bath is built. His father's name was Joseph. Mine was Oliver. His mother's name was Mary. Mine was Maria. He was buried in a Syrian sepulchre. I am buried in an English bastile. He got out. So shall I. He was crucified between two thieves. They have tried that on me, but did not succeed. I admire the character of our Saviour, and have a right to imitate His virtues, His independence, and His individuality. The letter which occasioned these remarks was copied from "THE REVOLUTION." We want more instruction, more self culture, more individual thought.

LET THE WORKINGMEN INSTRUCT THEMSELVES.

After all, it is the fault of the workingmen themselves that their positions have not been bettered before. As long as men are mere machines, doing the muscle work, but allowing others to think for them, and to run them as engineers runs locomotives, they will find themselves degraded. Mere workers are sure to be slaves; but thinkers and workers are sure to be free. Let the men of labor, then, cultivate the brain as well as the muscle, and push on their cause prudently, soberly, but unflinchingly; and the time will come when labor will be a pleasant and profitable employment.—*Irish Republic*.

SHUT UP THE WHISKEY SHOPS AND OPEN THE WORKINGMEN'S READING ROOM.

Let them have more light after their eight hours' labor. Teach them that greenbacks will give them higher wages, and that they should vote for American industry. P. P.'s magnificent article on Stewart dives down into the bottom of the bondholder's oligarchy. We must equalize capital with labor.

RUSSIA AND AMERICA ARM IN ARM IN THE REVOLUTION.

The great republic and the great monarchy are hand in hand in the great reform. There is a Divinity which shapes the fortunes of "THE REVOLUTION."

A Female University at St. Petersburg! In founding such an institution, the most backward of European nations, next to Turkey, has given a lesson to the most enlightened. We English, who have had an Oxford and a Cambridge for centuries, are still debating whether the advantages that our great universities confer might also be extended to women, by means of some national institution formed on a similar basis. The most enlightened of the sex are strongly in favor of the plan; and, even among critics who doubt whether it is wise to assimilate the education of men and women, there is a strong disposition to give the system a fair trial. But whence could the money for endowments be got? It is useless knocking at the door of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, for he is never at home to those who come on such errands. True; but if those who crave a female university will take a hint, we recommend them to wait patiently until the great, inevitable commission of the future on the charities of the country shall have been issued and shall have made its report. Mr. Gladstone, in his celebrated speech on the subject revealed, has his

eye on those institutions. Some day, the funds of such charities as are worse than useless, since they tend to pauperize whole districts, will present rich pickings. Then let the advocates of a female university rush to the House of Commons and claim a share of the spoil. For educated women that good time is coming in England which has already come in Russia.—*London Telegraph*.

MISS BECKER IS THE E. C. S. OF ENGLAND.

You should send this brilliant woman "THE REVOLUTION." She is everywhere indefatigable and irrepressible. She is the English Anna Dickinson. Here is an article from Blanchard Jerrold's paper, Loyd's. Verily, England is talking about "THE REVOLUTION."

Miss Lydia Becker seems strange to us who have not as yet become accustomed to the serious agitation of the Woman's Rights question; but she would be welcomed in the United States as a worthy companion of the ladies who are now what is called stumping the states on this issue, who have founded a journal upon it named "THE REVOLUTION," and have, moreover, made it a success; and who, with Mr. George Francis Train at their head—when the troublesome bankruptcy affair is settled—will carry the war into every village, state or Presidential election. These ladies are Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Miss Susan B. Anthony, Anna Dickinson, etc., whose names are held in no light esteem across the Atlantic.—*Liverpool Journal*.

WHY SHOULD GIRLS HAVE NO OBJECT IN LIFE BUT MARRIAGE?

Boys have a future—some business—some occupation—some hope. Ambition is appealed to. West Point—a college—a store or a profession. But girls have nothing but—"to sit upon the Style, Mary"—and wait for a husband. How voting will change all this! New thoughts, new aspirations, and freedom from the customs of a million of years.

A WORD ON "BEING SETTLED."—The great error of the age in rearing children is the holding marriage before them as the great aim and end of their existence. A distinguished man has said, "If I were talking to my own daughter, I would entreat her never to allow her self to dwell upon marriage as an object of life. Dignity and delicacy sink, I cannot say how rapidly, when once that idea takes possession of the mind; and so, for happiness, there is no more miserable being in existence than a woman, past the excitement of youth, aiming to be married for the sake of being married."—*London Paper*.

WHY SHOULD CHURCHES BE DARK AND WHISKEY SHOPS LIGHT?

Why not make God's temple as attractive as the gin palace or the harlot's saloon? Why must we draw down the face over a prayer-book? Why look so thundering sober at our vespers? The churches of England are all rat-holes, while the beer-shops are all gaily decorated. Virtue is always dressed in dark colors. Vice is always lighted with gas.

LONDON GIN PALACE.—In the evening, the so-called gin palaces, radiant with floods of light, and lavishly decorated, are like fairy palaces to thousands in their enticing splendor. Men and women, from whose hollow cheeks the most biting hunger grins out at you; and mothers, pictures of wretchedness, with half-naked babies in their arms, crowd to the doors of the spirit shops with the vicious and the criminal, and there they seek to forget the hunger and want, the anxiety and misery of the day, in the accursed, stupefying dram. It makes one shudder to see the quantities of spirits that are consumed in these palaces; how even women toss off great glasses of that devil's brew, which not only degrades man below the brute, but can even transform him into the most savage of wild beasts. The criminal annals of Northern Germany, as well as those of England, tell how many of the worst crimes are begotten of the spirit dram. Gin is still, alas! the consolation of the London laborer, and more than 8,000 liquor shops testify to the demand there is for it.

The Father Matthew Societies are the grandest sight in our line processions. "THE REVOLUTION" must remember my noble-hearted temperance band among the Irish boys.

IS NOT THE MOST INTELLECTUAL AND BEAUTIFUL OF THE STARS A WOMAN?

Venus is the brightest, the most brilliant of

God's stars—had she been less so they would have made her masculine. The sun shines by day, the moon by night? But who made them masculine and feminine. The sun was as much a woman created as the moon. Why is it that men compliment a woman of great powers of mind as being masculine unless by using that word they flatter their own vanity? Why should not the strong intellectual qualities be called feminine instead of masculine? Take notice that all language is tortured to place woman on a lower plane and make of her an inferior being. The more we dive into this subject the more we are astonished that she has been for ages the slave of man. Custom and habit have riveted the chain which "THE REVOLUTION" is breaking with every number. We must fight the devil with fire. Man's habitation may be paved with good intentions, but he has so brutalized his life we must attack. *Woman must be plaintiff*.

WHY SHOULD THERE NOT BE A MERCER STREET COMPOSED ENTIRELY OF YOUNG MEN?

My paramour suggestion seems to have dropped into a nest of yellow wasps in the *Times* office. Never stop to defend. Follow up the attack. Make the *Times* respect your womanhood. Never again use the word manhood. Manhood means rum, whiskey, tobacco and Mercer street. Womanhood means refinement, modesty, kind and gentle manners and virtue. Give them the vote and the reformation is a fact. Men have their Mercer streets all over the world. Why should not woman? What superior right has man to be immoral? Where did he purchase or inherit the monopoly of vice? Why don't the women learn to smoke, and walk up Broadway with cigars in their mouths so that the can be strong-minded? Why don't they learn to curse, and damn, and be *manly*? Perhaps that would make them too strong-minded. God forbid that I should advise woman to adopt man's vices. But I wish to show how much nobler woman is than man, and how by voting she could elevate man to her level.

TRAIN ON TRAIN.—A REJOINDER FROM THE MARSHSEA.

Train, mentally, has some remarkable traits. His memory is astonishing; and therein consists, greatly, his faculty to entertain. A man with a good memory, and with the gift of language—which Train also possesses—can speak or talk *ad libitum*. Any man might envy Train's power of memory.

To sum up, Train is a splendid ship—superb in hull—but over-trimmed with canvas—and having neither ballast nor rudder.—*Omaha Herald*.

I should have been shipwrecked on every coast if this was so. Yet I always make my port and save my canvas. How singular! My friends have dropped the words "gas," "charlatan," "mountebank," "lunatic," "fool." What is the matter? The *Mail* writes a leader full of points, yet this ballast question comes in. Having been at the head of three great shipping houses in Liverpool, Boston, and Melbourne—having handled some 500,000 tons of shipping in my day, I ought to know something about canvas, and it may be well to state that more ships sink on account of having *too much ballast* than otherwise. Your crank ship may lose a sail or a mast, but she seldom goes down. Too much ballast sometimes dwarfs a man, trembles his genius (who might otherwise have made a name in the world, launched ships, built cities, started railways, made tools, represented manhood) and converts him into—well I was about to say an editorial friend(?) of mine in Omaha:

GEORGE FRANCIS TRAIN.

The Revolution.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, } Editors.
PARKER PILLSBURY,

SUSAN B. ANTHONY, Proprietor.

NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 5, 1868.

THE WORKING WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION.

THE Working Woman's movement in this city is already assuming an importance unlooked for by the few who met together scarce one month since in the office of "THE REVOLUTION," to discuss the necessity of doing something for the protection of woman's labor. We well remember the shrinking manners and uncertain speech of those who did come; fearing lest in asking for more they should lose all. Those who had suffered the most from low wages were the most timid in taking any steps for their own advantage that might call down on them the displeasure of their employers, and all alike failed to see that the right of suffrage laid at the foundation of all social and civil equality. As the meetings were held week after week, many were threatened with instant dismissal by their employers, if they made any reports of their work and wages, and many laboring men forbid their wives, sisters and daughters going to the office of "THE REVOLUTION." Such a dread have the "white males" in general of the coming rebellion among the women of the land, that all affiliation with the "strong-minded" is forbidden as dangerous both to the family and the nation. But in spite of all opposition the meetings have gradually increased in numbers until our apartments are too small for their accommodation.

A Working Woman's Association was organized by Susan B. Anthony, which now numbers over two hundred members. They are to meet once a month to devise ways and means to open to themselves new and more profitable employments, that thus by decreasing the numbers in the few avocations now open to women, they can decrease the supply and raise the wages of those who remain. They propose, also, to demand an increase of wages in all those trades where they now work beside men for half pay. This can only be done by combination, for one person alone demanding higher wages can effect nothing, but 5,000 women in any one employment, striking for higher wages, would speedily bring their employers to terms. Out of the present Association will be formed co-operative unions in every branch of industry, with funds that will enable them to maintain themselves during the period of a strike. The men's typographical union have pledged the women to stand by them in their proposed demand for higher wages. As the gods help those who help themselves, we urge on all workingwomen to rouse up from the lethargy of despair and make one combined, determined effort to secure for themselves an equal chance with men in the whole world of work. We urge women of wealth all over the country to devote themselves for a time to helping their own sex. Let the churches, the colleges, the schools where men preach and pray and vote and teach and pocket all the salaries, help themselves while Christian women study what Ruskin calls the three fine arts, how to feed, clothe and house

the poor; and let them give every thought and effort to the protection, education and elevation of the young girls of our laboring classes. It is a shame that so many women leave large bequests to churches, where women are not permitted to speak or vote, and to colleges where girls are forbidden to enter. Let every man of wealth educate his daughter for some profitable and honorable post of life, that if left to depend on herself she need not fall into the ranks of the seamstress or the household drudge and thus crowd woman's present employments. Let women of wealth and brains step out of the circles of fashion and folly, and fit themselves for the trades, arts, and professions, and become employers, instead of subordinates; thus making labor honorable for all, and elevating their sex, by opening new avenues for aspiration and ambition. One of Miss Anthony's most cherished plans is to have a magnificent printing establishment, and a daily paper, owned and controlled and all the work done by women, thus giving employment to hundreds and making the world ring with the new evangel for woman.

The barbarisms perpetrated in our slop shops and in every department of labor where young girls are struggling for a virtuous living, by means of these associations and a daily organ, could then be brought to light and be heralded from pole to pole until the world should see the need of more humane and christian legislation for womankind. But while association will do much toward ameliorating some of the evils of our present social condition, no radical changes can be effected for woman's elevation until she holds the ballot, the citizens only shield of protection, in her own right hand.

E. C. S.

THEOLOGICAL DISCUSSION.

THE American, Western and New England News Companies have just published and put into the market a handsome octavo volume of a hundred and thirty pages, entitled "Correspondence of Gerrit Smith with Albert Barnes." It is the latest, as well as by far the ablest, discussion on some of the toughest and knottiest theological problems of the times which has come to a dark and doubting world in a long while. This might be expected from the character of the disputants. Both are ripe in years and experience, having reaped diligently and persistently, under most favorable conditions, in the harvest fields of life till past three score and ten, and both having given full proof through their long lives of an honest, earnest purpose to serve mankind with all the rich gifts and graces with which they are endowed. Both, too, had much the same intellectual, as well as moral and religious training, both having graduated at Hamilton College not far from half a century ago. It is, however, a singular circumstance, as related by Mr. Barnes, that though both were born in the same vicinity, graduated at the same college, both have been, with much prominence, before the public, and have both taken a warm interest in the great questions which have been before the nation and which have so deeply affected the national affairs, they have never yet met; Mr. Barnes having seen Mr. Smith but once, and then even, Mr. Smith did not see him. But they are of those of whom Ralph Waldo Emerson says,

"They can parley without meeting;
Need they've none for forms of greeting."

And what each says to the other, the other ac-

cepts as an honest, earnest conviction, and the world will accord to both, so far as it knows them, a high and holy purpose throughout their long, able and interesting, as well as most friendly, discussion.

Many years ago, Mr. Barnes introduced himself most honorably to the world by his Introductory Essay to Butler's Analogy, an interpretation which that sublime and masterly argument for Immortality greatly needed to make it better serve the purposes of mankind; a work which clothed with flesh, blood and beauty what had before been but a cold, hard, dry though irresistible and unanswerable skeleton of ratiocination. Mr. Barnes had aided multitudes to unshaken faith in not only the doctrine of Immortality, but also the origin of evil and sin in this world, and of future rewards and punishments, both by his interpretation of Butler and his very luminous and careful commentaries on the Scriptures, known, read and studied everywhere in Sunday schools and Bible classes. But he seems to have still wandered in doubt and darkness on the subject himself; and Mr. Smith discovered among his writings the following remarkable admissions relating to them:

In the distress and anguish of my own spirit, I confess that I see no light whatever. I see not one ray of light to disclose to me why sin came into the world, why the earth is strewn with the dying and the dead, and why men must suffer to all eternity. I have never seen a particle of light thrown on these subjects that has given a moment's ease to my tortured mind, nor have I an explanation to offer, or a thought to suggest, which would be of relief to you. I trust other men, as they profess to do, understand this better than I do, and that they have not the anguish of spirit which I have. But I confess, when I look on a world of sinners and sufferers; upon death-beds and grave-yards; upon the world of woe, filled with hosts to suffer forever; when I see my friends, my parents, my family, my people, my fellow-citizens—when I look upon a whole race all involved in this sin and danger; and when I see the great mass of them wholly unconcerned, and when I feel that God only can save them and yet He does not do it, I am struck dumb. It is all dark to my soul, and I cannot disguise it.

Out of this discovery by Mr. Smith of these grave doubts, darkness and fears in the mind of one so eminent as Mr. Barnes grew the correspondence before us. Whatever shall be said of the weight of their reasonings, none will doubt the sincerity and purity of their motives, and all must be delighted with the serenity and excellence of their temper and spirit. As the extreme systems of medical practice are known to modify each other, Homoeopathy increasing a little the circumference of its pellets and Allopathy diminishing the diameter of its blisters, so the fiery extremes of Calvinism are every day seen to glow less fervidly as the clear beams of science and sublimer thought shine in upon them. We hail this book, therefore, as a messenger of good omen and cannot too highly recommend its perusal. Science and religion must come to a better understanding of each other. Every week the religious newspapers are bewailing the scepticism of so many of our most learned and eminent men. They will have ample cause for their grief, while they contain so many columns and pages, as most of them do of all the "evangelical denominations," like the following from the Boston *Zion's Herald*, one of the ablest and best (and most liberal too) of the Methodist Faith:

Exceptions are taken in the Springfield *Union* and the *Christian Messenger* to a statement in the *Herald*, that the idolatry of South America was the real cause of the earthquake, as "accidents," so-called here, are caused by sin. The *Messenger* thinks the idea is exploded, that natural convulsions have anything to do with human sins. The earth will explode much sooner than that truth. Sodom and Gomorrah are with us to this day, as a proof

of it, suffering the vengeance of eternal fire. The calamities of man, and that in which they all, and everywhere consummate, death, are caused by the sins of man. That is the first doctrine of the Bible and of Christianity. When the race becomes sinless, the earth will become new, and there shall be no more death, and hence no more destroying earthquake, flood or fire.

But our article grows too long. The Apostle to the Gentiles said well enough, "We are fools for Christ's sake;" but he did not mean, probably, to be understood so literally quite, as many seem to suppose. Creeds and catechisms, heaven and earth may pass away, but the eternal truths of science shall not pass away; can no more die than God, their great Author can die.

P. P.

ANNA E. DICKINSON.

THIS popular young orator will speak in Cooper Institute, on Thursday (this) evening, for the benefit of the Working Women's Association. As Miss Dickinson has known what it is to struggle with poverty, and through hardships has won the success she to-day enjoys, she will be able to speak eloquently for woman's right in the field of work.

Let those dilettanti gentlemen, who have been so severely criticising Miss Dickinson as an author and orator, remember that Harvard, Columbia and Yale, and even the Free Academy of our own city were closed against her, and if they were open, where are the men's charitable societies for the education of "poor but pious" young women.

The Nation thinks Miss Dickinson's style is so faulty, that she should not be encouraged to speak. We venture to say that when Miss Dickinson meets any young gentlemen of twenty-five, a graduate of Harvard, who can sway an audience as she can, and always by appeals to their moral sentiments, she will be willing to consider the Nation's proposition.

The young man has yet to be seen, who, without any training or educational advantages, has been able to call forth such popular applause as this young girl.

Nothing but the rarest genius could have enabled her through poverty, hardship and persecution, to accomplish what she has, and if she could have enjoyed all the advantages of cultivated society and early training with a thorough college drill in the sciences, languages and Belles Lettres, she might have stood to-day the peer of Beecher or Phillips. Now, we would suggest to the cultivated, carping men of letters, who are all the time criticising the women of this country who do write and speak, to use their utmost influence to open the doors of Harvard to both sexes, and to form associations all over the country at once, and create a generous fund to help the thousands of young women now struggling for a liberal education. Men can never weigh all the depressing influences that work against woman's development. Such has been the crushing effect of public sentiment, that women feel almost like apologizing for being on the earth at all. Having been taught that her highest honor was to make a pudding or darn a stocking, why wonder that she should not excel in writing a book or making a speech? In the face of all the adverse influences, the wonder is she should ever attempt either.

E. C. S.

MRS. POLK, widow of the late Bishop Polk, is about to open a school, in New Orleans, in which she will be assisted by her daughter.

WOMAN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION IN BOSTON.

We have received the following Call for a Convention to be held in Boston on the 18th and 19th instant, issued by a Committee of Arrangements duly appointed, Mrs. Caroline M. Severance, Chairman:

CALL.

We, the undersigned, recognizing the so-called "Woman Question" as fundamental in its relation to society and to government,—a question, therefore, demanding honest investigation and wise treatment,—unite in calling a Convention for the discussion of the principles involved in it, and for the formation of a Society to secure their application.

We propose, as the basis of our discussion and subsequent action, the equality of the sexes before God,—as written in the nature and duties and destinies of both, and as announced in the Old and New Testaments, in the significant words, "And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness and let them have dominion. So God created man in his own image; in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them;" and, "In Christ Jesus there is neither male nor female;"—and the rights of the individual, as set forth in the following ever-memorable words of the Declaration of Independence: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; and, "that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed."

We hold it a self-evident truth, also, that these principles, applied to the women as to the men of any nation or race, must produce the best results; and that such application is necessary to the normal development of human society.

We therefore invite the thoughtful men and women of New England, who are willing to join us in such deliberation and action, to meet in Convention at Boston, on Wednesday and Thursday, the 18th and 19th days of November next, to organize a permanent Association, for the wise, systematic, and efficient advocacy of Woman's Suffrage, and its kindred civil and political rights.

CO-OPERATION IN LABOR.

It is almost wonderful to observe how active and energetic the human mind is becoming on whatever pertains to human amelioration; and how many men and women among all classes become inspired to utter new and brave truths on that sublime subject: The following is extracted from a letter by John Stuart Mill in the London Illustrated News:

I am quite of opinion that the various forms of co-operation (among which the one most widely applicable at present to production, as distinguished from distribution, is what you term the system of small per cent, age partnerships) are the real and only thorough means of healing the feud between capitalists and laborers, and while tending eventually to supersede trade unions, are meanwhile a natural and gradually increasing corrective of their operation. I look also with hope to the ultimate working of the foreign combination. The operatives are now fully alive to this part of the case, and are beginning to try how far the combination principle among laborers for wages admits of becoming national instead of only local, and general instead of being confined to each trade without help from other trades. The final experiment has thus commenced, the result of which will fix the limits of what the trade union principle can do. And the larger view of questions which these considerations open up, and which is already visibly enlightening the minds of the more advanced work-people, will dispose them more and more to look for the just improvement of their condition rather in becoming their own capitalists, or allying themselves on fair conditions with the owners of capital, than in their present uncomfortable and often disastrous relations with them.

RELIGIO PHILOSOPHICAL JOURNAL.—The Editor said last week, "We have endeavored to make this number of the Journal an excellent one." He succeeded well. We like his paper much, all but its name.

WOMAN AS PHYSICIAN.

MACMILLAN'S Magazine has a long and excellent article on Women as Physicians, from which we copy the following answers to some objections often urged against them:

The important part of the question is that which relates to the life of practice as a physician. Are women strong enough for that? In the absence of experience we can but suggest a few considerations which tend to reassure us on this point. It may be noticed in the first place, with regard to physical strength, that wherever it is needed in other callings women are not, as a rule, incapacitated by the want of it. A physician would not need to be so strong as a nurse, a washerwoman, or a charwoman. She might be much weaker physically than the woman who stands behind the counter or who does needlework for fourteen hours daily. Moreover, the demand for both muscular and nervous strength comes gradually to a physician. During the first few years of professional life he is not overwhelmed with work, and he has time to become accustomed to a fair amount of exertion. When in really full practice, he can afford to spare himself much fatigue, as for instance by keeping a carriage instead of using cabs or walking. The same is true of night-work. Inexperienced people are apt to think that, because a doctor is sometimes called up, he scarcely ever gets a good night's rest; whereas the truth probably is, that a physician in even large practice is not often called up more than once or twice in the week. One piece of evidence of some importance may be mentioned upon this point. Many of the midwives employed by the Royal Maternity Charity have an amount of practice which, in the number of cases, greatly exceeds that of any physician practicing among the wealthy classes. One of these women, whose skill and kindness render her a great favorite with her patients, is also employed by the Marylebone Dispensary. She attends as many as nine hundred patients annually—i.e., an average of about three every twenty-four hours, exclusive of Sundays. She not only goes to each patient's house, when first summoned, and acts as both doctor and nurse; but after the birth of the child she visits and attends to the two patients for several days. She never expects to pass a night in peace; she walks to all her patients; she has been thus employed for several years, and she is at the present time a remarkably healthy and vigorous woman.

FEARFUL MISTAKE DISCOVERED.—Too late, we fear, however, to be of any good to man or woman kind, Mrs. Caroline Healy Dall has discovered, and hastens to sound the alarm through the Boston Daily Advertiser, that

If women would only stop declaiming and earn what they seek, like Dr. Zakrzewska and Miss Putnam, their friends would find no special pleading necessary.

Who can tell what a millennium of life, liberty, property, prosperity, and pursuit of happiness the women of the world might not now be enjoying, if Mrs. Dall had not thrown her very able and interesting (and as we always thought before, important and useful) books, lectures and other labors directly in their way!

COST OF WORSHIP.—The London correspondent of the New York Times writes that in "one part of London—the district around Cheapside and Lombard-street, little more than half a mile in length, and less in breadth, having an area under a quarter of a square mile—there are no less than forty different churches huddled together. The Pall Mall Gazette says that in these churches forty-nine souls are a large average congregation, and \$2,400 (gold) is the average salary of a clergyman. St. Paul's, which, though in the same neighborhood, is not included in the forty churches above mentioned, has fifty clerical officials." And all through the region just beyond, there are, burrowed in cellars, or packed in garrets, myriads of poor wretches in filth, squalor, starvation, sickness and death, thick as wharf rats and about as human, who in

all their lives never eat a wholesome and sufficient meal, wear a new, decent garment, or hear one friendly and loving word from the outside world, on any subject, from the hour they come into being until the, to them more blessed, one when they are almost shovelled out of it! What to them are sound of Church going bell; or fifty ordained and well paid priests to a single church; or forty others huddled with that one on to less than half a mile, each with a salary of two thousand four hundred dollars in gold and a congregation of nine and forty drowsy sinners, all told, in silk and satin, what to them, those human wharf rats yonder, are all these pious shams and shows? Aye, what?

WHERE MEN SPEND THEIR EVENINGS.

OUR Four Courts Correspondent Mr. Train suggested, a letter or two ago, that Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony should don male attire and pursue some of our amiable and affable gentlemen to their evening haunts and see the kind of company and business wherein they indulge, when "necessarily detained a little longer than usual" from home. The same week a curious scene took place in a Bleecker street car. A gentleman, the head of a Wall street banking house, entered the car to ride up-town. The car had gone but a short distance when his wife also entered the car, and taking a seat at his side, informed him that she proposed to go wherever he went. To this he objected, and a war of words followed. When the car reached Bleecker street, the husband made a dash for the platform, but the wife, who evidently was prepared for the emergency, seized him by the skirts of his coat. In the struggle which followed both got into the street, where the husband bravely struck his "weaker vessel" in the face. A policeman came up at this juncture and took both into custody. At the station-house counter charges were made, but the sergeant in charge advised a reconciliation, which was finally effected, and both left for their home in Brooklyn.

CALIFORNIA.

CHARLES W. TAPPAN of San Francisco is general agent for "THE REVOLUTION" for California, and the States and Territories west of the Rocky mountains; duly authorized to appoint agents and collect funds for both advertisements and subscriptions. Mr. Tappan has acted as *volunteer* agent for "THE REVOLUTION" from the first; and sent us a longer list of subscribers than any friend or agent on either side of the Rocky Mountains.

S. B. A.

CARD.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Oct. 26, 1868.

Editors of the Revolution.

IN my letter to "THE REVOLUTION" of June 23, 1868, I made certain charges against Mr. Wm. E. Chandler, former Assistant-Secretary of the Treasury, involving his private as well as his official character, upon what I supposed at the time was good authority. Some facts have since come to my knowledge which have led me to reinvestigate the matter, and I find that statements upon which the charge was based, are incorrect. I therefore take the earliest opportunity to withdraw the charge, in justice to myself as well as to Mr. Chandler. My sense of right and justice will not permit me to remain any longer responsible for the statement.

JULIA ARCHIBALD HOLMES.

EXIT OF CALIBAN AND SHYLOCK.

We have already alluded to this somewhat remarkable work in "THE REVOLUTION." Below are brief extracts from its columns. It is an octavo pamphlet of about a hundred and fifty pages and will well repay perusal.

Nothing impels me more strongly toward social reform than the fact that in Christian England, the paragon, even absolute starvation of the poor is lightly regarded by the rich and powerful. Lord John Russell lately said, in answer to a question, that he had not yet received the report concerning starvation in the Isle of Skye—thought the people knew their rights as to poor laws, and probably had not starved. He thought that charity would be "of no use." The people should emigrate. Again the degradation of the working classes there is frightful. Only in name they are much better off than the majority of Southern slaves.*

Beyond the valley and the marshes west of Cincinnati rise noble hills and bluffs again. My solitary Sabbath walk is often in that direction. Last Sunday I walked some distance west of the brow of these bluffs, and came upon a fine Catholic church and convent, the location of which was selected with that good taste which Catholics are apt to show in such matters. How profoundly I am always affected by such a sight! My mind runs vehemently backward and forward while I gaze at a convent—back through the grand monastic epoch—forward through the grander phalansteria epoch, wherein we shall have all the good of monasteries without its hideous evils. The Catholic style of joining the church and convent together is very pleasant to me. Thus they aim to unite the outer and inner life—Sabbath with work-day, preaching with practice—religion with business. Of course they commonly fail very miserably; but that is not the fault of their architectural system. I abhor the Presbyterian style of keeping the main "meeting-house" shut all the week, wasting its sweetness. Give me the phalanstery chapel—open for worship once a day all the year around; and accessible at all times, under proper restrictions for those devout ones who would walk its aisles under the dim religious light of its stained-glass windows, communing with God and with their own hearts, with the angels and the ages; for those who would take sweet, pious counsel together, walking to the house of God in company; for those who would at any hour by grand, solemn or joyous organ music, stir their own hearts and those of the adjacent toilers in harvest-field or workshop.

It is the fate of all false priests to be found out, as were those of England at the time when they were thought only fit to eat at the servants' table. The priest must be positive—must assert himself like a pope or a Puritan. Must say "necessity is laid upon me, yea woe is me if I preach not the gospel;" and woe be to you if you hear me not. Let him not be dismayed if he has not talent or genius—every true priest has his tongue set on fire of Heaven.

I would once have thought that such passages as the following from Shelley's "Queen Mab" were strained; now I say, amen! Commerce, as now conducted, is no hot-bed of the virtues. Said an old Dutch philosopher, "If a merchant would reach Heaven, he must be long sick." Never till the phalanx reconciles all clashing can we know a commerce other than barbaric. Behold Shelley's idea of beneficent merchandising:

*There is a philanthropic excitement just now in England over the "gang system" of agricultural labor which prevails in Lincolnshire. An agricultural gang is a collection of men, women, boys and girls—some of the children as young as five or six years—who are hired by a "ganger" to labor wherever he can find work for them. The farmers make contracts with this man, and he leads his slaves about from field to field, after compelling them to travel seven or eight miles to and from their work. He is generally a man of bad character and brutal habits, and the women of the gang are, as a rule, of the most degraded and depraved class. The immorality that prevails among them is said to be disgusting, and the physical ill-treatment and moral corruption of the children are sickening to think of. The younger ones—many of them mere babies—often drop down from exhaustion on their long journeys, and their parents have to send out at night to pick them up on the road. The real cause of this bad system seems to be in the poor-laws. In order to avoid taxation for the support of paupers, the farmers will not allow laborers' cottages to be built on their lands, and when they want extra help they have to go to the nearest town or village.

"Commerce, beneath whose poison-breathing shade
No solitary virtue dares to spring."

* * * * *
Commerce has set the mark of selfishness,
The signet of its all-enslaving power,
Upon a shining ore, and called it gold;
Before whose image bow the vulgar great,
The vainly rich, the miscreantly proud—
The mob of peasants, nobles, priests and kings;
And with blind feeling reverence the power
That grinds them to the dust of misery.

* * * * *
But hoary-headed selfishness has felt
Its death-blow, and is tottering to the grave.
A brighter morn awaits the human day."

It would be one step toward persuading Americans into the phalanstery if we could induce them to heed the wise warnings that come to us from such men as Carlyle and Macaulay, as to the instability of our political institutions and prosperity. Said Macaulay in a letter to an American—"Your fate I believe to be certain, though it is deferred by a physical cause. As long as you have a boundless extent of fertile and unoccupied land, your laboring population will be far more at ease than the laboring population of the Old World. But the time will come when New England will be as thickly peopled as Old England. Wages will be as low and will fluctuate as much with you as with us. The day will come when in the State of New York, a multitude of people, none of whom has had more than half a breakfast or expects to have more than half a dinner will choose a legislature. Is it possible to doubt what sort of legislature will be chosen? On the one side is a statesman preaching respect for vested rights and strict observance of public faith. On the other is a demagogue ranting about the tyranny of capitalists and usurers. Which of the two candidates is likely to be preferred by a workingman who hears his children cry for more bread?" Then he says will come all worst anarchies. Let those who would help to avert the absorption of all wealth and com for by the few among us, as it is in England, and those who as things now go will have children voting as above—consider well the Christian phalanstery.

Again as to Carlyle, though he has little respect for existing aristocracies, and sees little difference between barons and buccaneers, getting scalps and getting gold purses by smart operations, he still gives us much truth about hero worship—that disposition so strong in all men to look up to and obey some stronger man. He claims with truth that the most lion-hearted hail with rapture the born lords of men—those who seem created for a supremacy. Such facts go to show that democracy, with its dead-levelism is but a good temporary makeshift, and that we cannot therefore rely on it to maintain our present prosperity. We must have such a re-organization of a portion of society at least as will at once prevent an excess of hero-worship and an excessive disposition on the part of these natural Agamemnon to lord it over their fellows.

GEN. GRANT ON NEGRO SUFFRAGE

THE latest authority on Grant's opinions is Judge Pierrepont in his speech last week in this city, as follows:

One day at Gen. Grant's house in Washington, while he was Secretary of war, I told him I thought he would make a good Democratic candidate if he was right on the question of negro suffrage. He replied that he had no wish for the Presidency, that his feelings and sentiments were entirely opposed to negro suffrage; but that he did not wish to be restrained by any pledges from the right to change his opinions in future if new exigencies convinced him that he was wrong; for, said he, you will remember that early in the war, when I was in command at the West I publicly stated that if the negroes had an insurrection I would hold my army in check until it was put down. But long before the war was over, I should have been glad of a negro insurrection, and would have moved my army all the faster. What I want is the Union—the whole country returned to peace and submission to the laws. I do not like universal negro suffrage now, but the freedmen ought to be protected, and if the only way to protect them in their helpless condition is to give them the suffrage, then I shall be in favor of letting them vote. I want the Union restored, and to have the South come back, obey the laws, and submit as good citizens, and if the future proves that they will not do it without negro suffrage, then I would give them negro suffrage.

So then, as we have always declared, the south had to be chastised with the whip of ne-

gro bullets to make them surrender. Now if they will not be quiet, the scorpion of negro *ballots* is to be their doom. But the negro himself is to have nothing to say about it. Nobody is yet bound to respect his rights. The Dred Scott decision still. He is still to be kept as the scourge of the south, to fight or to vote against her, as republican emergency may require.

WORKINGWOMEN'S ASSOCIATION.

A LARGE meeting, representing nearly all branches of labor in which women and girls are employed, assembled last Thursday evening at the office of "THE REVOLUTION," to consider the expediency of forming a Workingwomen's Union, which should be open not only to the laborers in any one vocation, but to all who claim to be workingwomen. Miss Susan B. Anthony announced the object of the meeting, and after making a few general remarks, proposed that the meeting be organized by the appointment of a chairman and a secretary. Accordingly, Miss Anthony was unanimously chosen for the former position, and Miss Susie Johns for the latter. Mrs. Mary F. Davis, wife of Mr. Andrew Jackson Davis, then read, at the request of the meeting, the following platform of principles :

The workingwomen of to-day, like those of the past, belong to the large class of manufacturing and distributing producers, and, as such, are entitled to recognition and adequate remuneration in the great army of the world's workers. But, by lack of a just estimate of woman's work, no definite prices have ever been fixed in the departments of woman's special industries, and this has given rise to various abuses. One of these is the oppression of workingwomen by unjust and avaricious employers. This has been a fruitful source of poverty, misery, and death. On the other hand, exorbitant demands are liable to be made, irrespective of skill, by workers in certain branches of artistic and domestic industry. Isolation of workingwomen tends to perpetuate these evils, and to prolong their precarious, shifting, and unjust mode of life. Hence the necessity of Association in order that we may attain enlightened views, devise plans for co-operation, and establish our position on an equitable basis.

THE DIGNITY OF LABOR.—We have no sympathy with the ideas so prevalent with regard to the degrading tendency of labor. Honored be the individual who refuses to eat the bread of dependence, but seeks to render an equivalent by willing toil for the blessing of subsistence. So far from regarding honest labor as a disgrace and scourge, we deem it the surest guarantee of true nobility and worth, and look upon idleness, though clothed in "purple and fine linen," as entitled to rebuke and scorn. The veriest drudgery can be ennobled by the willing performance of a noble spirit, and we believe that in the good time coming the honored members of society will be they who do most to make the world's desert "rejoice and blossom as the rose." We welcome all workingwomen to our association, proud of the same which distinguishes them from the multitude of idlers and dependents.

EXCELLENCE OF PERFORMANCE.—As woman's superficial means of discipline and desultory methods of employment have hitherto sent out into the world of work many incompetent and inefficient persons, and, as we believe the adage, that "whatever is worth doing at all is worth doing well," we therefore deem it necessary that special attention be hereafter given by workingwomen to perfecting themselves in the branches of business which they have severally adopted. Without thoroughness and perfect mastery of our vocation we shall not only fail of doing justice to our employers, but shall be unable to take the positions and secure the salaries which real skill and excellence are sure to command. Therefore, as members of this union, we deem that a most effective incipient method of co-operation would be to assist each other in gaining that perfection of skill which secures self-approval, commands respect, and guarantees success.

SOCIAL INTERCHANGE.—Owing to the exhausting toil of working women, their want of leisure and their countless hindrances, they have but little opportunity for social life, and that fine interchange of sentiment and

cordiality which elevates the character, and without which the soul pines in solitude, and a feeling of friendlessness chills and burdens the heart. As it was "good and pleasant for brethren to dwell together in unity," so it is good for sisters, who are engaged in a common cause, to meet in friendly conference. It gives hope to the worn spirit, opens anew the avenues of friendship, and reinvigorates the flagging energies to action. Therefore we deem it advisable to meet as a body, at least once each month, for mutual interchange, encouragement and improvement:

IMMEDIATE AIMS.—As progress takes place by slow degrees, and "the old abuse" does not meet its doom on the instant, it would be as unwise as futile for us, in associative capacity, to attempt to right at once all the wrongs to which workingwomen are subject. But "in union there is strength," and "agitation of thought is the beginning of wisdom." Therefore we urge that this be made a Central Workingwomans Association; and that at our monthly meetings we not only strike hands in friendship, but solicit from competent persons hints, maxims, addresses, heroic songs, whatever will awaken and direct our thoughts, and give us wisdom for future action and attainment. Furthermore, we recommend the formation of a fund for the benefit of members in sickness and misfortune, and for carrying out such plans as may from time to time offer for bettering the condition of the workingwomen.

Some discussion arose concerning the substitution of the word "association" for "league," in the designation of the society.

Mrs. Wilbour thought the word was of somewhat too aggressive and formidable a sound, consequently it was expunged.

Dr. Harriet Clisby considered the term "Queens of Society" open to misrepresentation, and suggested "honored members" as a more appropriate phrase.

It was resolved that the subscription be ten cents per month, with no initiation fee.

Miss Anthony announced that Miss Anna Dickinson had consented to lecture on the night of Thursday week for the benefit of the association.

The following committee was appointed to correspond with Miss Dickinson, and secure a hall for the delivery of the lecture. These ladies, Miss Susie Johns, Mrs. Anna Ward, Mrs. Brewster, Mrs. Emeline Thomas, Miss Kate Campbell, Miss Ella Hayes, and Mrs. Elizabeth Crittenden are to wait upon the benevolent Peter Cooper and ask him for the use of his hall. The following committee was appointed to draft a constitution and by-laws, and to recommend permanent officers for the association : Dr. Harriet Clisby, Mrs. Mary Tobitt, Miss S. A. Davis, Mrs. F. Morris, Mrs. C. Wilbour, Mrs. Celia Burleigh, and Mrs. F. Davis.

A motion was made and carried that Miss Anthony be continued as President of the association until it be permanently organized, after which the meeting adjourned until the 9th of November.

PLANCHETTE.—It is interesting to observe the different modes of treating this singular phenomenon by the religious authorities of the country. The Roman Catholics admit its wondrously mysterious powers but attribute them to the devil direct, and warn their people against it. The Protestants are not less surprised but are more cautious in giving judgment. The Boston *Congregationalist*, the ablest organ of the denomination, says, "there is certainly great mystery about the phenomenon, but we see no reason to regard it as anything more than a new phase of whatever agency that is whose operations usually go under the name of spirit rapping ; of which we have yet to learn the first beneficial result, while volumes would be required to write its disastrous influence." That is exactly what the Roman Catholics say of Congregationalism.

IMPORTANT LEGAL DECISION.

If the women of England do not obtain right of suffrage without delay, it will not be for want of constitution, law, or legal decision in their favor; as witness the following interesting report from the London correspondent of the N. Y. Tribune :

It is remarkable with what steady determination the claim of the women to vote is pressed. Received at first with surprise, and treated as a joke, it has been made so often, in so many boroughs, by women of such unexceptionable rank in society, and with the aid of such eminent counsel, that it has at last, and at least proved its right to be seriously dealt with. Its success in Ashford was perhaps accidental. The Reviving Barrister left the thirty-three women on the register because nobody objected. Now we have got a step beyond that. In the Metropolitan borough of Finsbury, the claim of Jane Allen came before the Reviving Barrister, Mr. Chisholm Anstey, was argued like any other claim, and was finally admitted on purely legal and technical grounds. Perhaps there is nothing absolutely new in the argument of Mr. Snoen, the Solicitor, nor in the opinion of the Reviving Barrister. Mark it as the first judicial decision in England in favor of woman's demand for the franchise. As such, it has a real importance. The English mind has an immense respect for anything in the shape of a magistrate. A Reviving Barrister's Court is an irregular sort of tribunal, but is still hedged about with a good deal of—I had almost said divinity to complete the quotation. But this is certain, that one such decision has more influence on the public mind than all the addresses of Miss Becker and all the arguments of Stuart Mill. Mr. Anstey, it should be observed, is not a new convert to the woman's claims, but an old advocate of it. He is a man of some note at the bar and in literature, is a Roman Catholic, and has been prominent in questions touching Catholic interests. He was in Parliament from '47 to '52 for an Irish borough, and was afterward Attorney-General at Hong-Kong. Since his return to England he has published a number of pamphlets on the woman question. He based his decision distinctly upon the statement that women formerly had and used the franchise, and that they have not been deprived of it by legislation nor lost it by non-user. The legal position of women he held to be much stronger than it is commonly believed to be. The Magna Charta, the rights of life, liberty, and property are allowed women, and an act of Parliament declared that peeresses had the right to be tried by peeresses, as peers by peers. Taxation acts and penal acts were constructed to apply to women, unless they were expressly excluded. As to the argument that women had forfeited by non-user whatever right they originally possessed, Mr. Anstey pointed out that the opportunity to make a claim had been denied them. Since the reign of James I.—1603—1625—no such claim could have been made in a court of law. In that reign, a standing order was made by the House that no application regarding the privilege of voting should be brought before any other tribunal than the Legislature itself. That order was not repealed till August, 1868. What then became of the argument of non-user, when Parliament itself prohibited a claim from being tried in the courts? Mr. Anstey proceeded to say that under the common law women were registered as burgesses, for they were liable to the duties of watch and ward. The rolls of Parliament contained records of women being in Parliament—a fact which I have not before seen urged. Still more curious is the statement that when Mrs. Copeley claimed that she was entitled to return a member for a borough herself, a committee decided that the constituency was not a close borough. If the lady had been incapacitated by her sex, the question would not have been entertained at all. It was not till after the Great Rebellion and the Revolution that the female suffrage fell out of use. But, says our magistrate, there is not a single decision, not even of the High Court of Parliament itself, to deprive women of the common law right to vote, except in the case of freeholders as already mentioned. The often quoted words of the Reform Act of 1832, "male persons" were disposed of with the remark—also new—that that was used only in the "enabling" clause of that act, not in the "disabling" clauses. Evidently the framers of that act did not wish to take away old rights, however far they might go in conferring new ones.

In the Registration Court of the City of London, Mr. Sidney Smith delivered a speech of singular ingenuity and research, in favor of the claim of Lydia Stowford to the franchise. I have seen no argument in which the whole question was discussed with so much learning,

and put in so fresh and striking a way. Here are a few specimen facts:

"It is on record that, in the reign of Elizabeth, Dame Dorothea Pakington, widow of Sir John Pakington, Knt., voted for two burgesses to sit for the town of Aylesbury in Parliament, the Sheriff having previously issued his precept to her. There is another instance in the case of the lady—I beg her pardon, the lord of the manor of Gatt—voting for members of Parliament. In 1739, Sir Wm. Lee, Chief-Judge of the King's Bench, decided, and the other learned judges agreed with him, that a *femme sole* having a freehold might vote for members of Parliament; and this is the only occasion on which the question has been raised before the higher courts. In concluding his argument, Mr. Smith quoted 'Things not Generally Known,' to the effect that ladies of birth and quality sat in council with the Saxon wita; that in the reign of Henry III. and Edward I., abbesses were summoned to Parliament; and that in the 35th year of the reign of Edward III., the Countesses Norfolk, Ormond, March, Pembroke, Oxford, and Athol, with other ladies, were compelled to send proxies to Parliament."

The claim was rejected by the Revising Barrister, but he remarked that he was convinced there was a very strong arguable case on technical grounds. An appeal was allowed, and this with many other cases will soon be heard before the Court of Common Pleas, where a number of learned gentlemen in musty wigs will decide every one of them against the women.

We subjoin the following on the same subject from an English paper:

On the fifth day of Michaelmas Term—the 7th November—the court of Common Pleas will appoint sittings for the hearing of appeals from the decision of the Revising Barrister. Already several have been lodged, and a considerable number will appear by the first day of term. An appellant has to give ten days' notice, and, by being given at once the hearing is expedited. The first appeal lodged is from Manchester, and contains upwards of 5,000 names. One case on female franchise will, it is expected, decide all the other appeals on that question.

WOMAN FRANCHISE.—In the revising barrister's court at Cockermouth, Mr. Wheeler has placed on the register the name of Mrs. Rachel Pearson, who had not been objected to; and, in order to prevent women rashly withdrawing their claims in consequence of the adverse decisions at Manchester and Leeds, he expressed in general terms a strong opinion in their favor. He said that his own opinion was that the law was decidedly in favor of women having votes, and when there was a doubt, and a reasonable doubt, he was bound to find in favor of franchise. At the revising barrister's court of Sebergham, nine women were duly admitted as voters for East Cumberland. At Winterton, in Lincolnshire, the Revising Barrister expressed his deliberate opinion that the Reform Act, taken in conjunction with the Interpretation Act, does confer upon women the right of voting, and allowed the names of women to remain upon the register in consequence. At Ormskirk, the revising barrister, Mr. Foard, gave a judgment exactly similar to that at Winterton, and left the names of forty-one women upon the register of voters for South-West Lancashire. At Finsbury, the Revising Barrister has put on the register of voters for that borough all women claimants who proved their qualification under the Act of 1867. At the Sittingbourne revision court on Monday the revising barrister for East Kent, Mr. J. D. Chambers, allowed forty-eight more ladies the privilege of the franchise, whose names were placed on the lists by the overseers, he (the barrister) contended that he possessed no power to strike them off, no objection having been made against them. At the Ramsgate court last week Mary Ann Bailey claimed to vote for the county in respect to occupation of premises situate in the division of the county, and attended in person to support her claim. After long arguments the barrister delivered a decision against the claim, which was consequently struck out. Eighty-one females are entitled to vote in East Kent, and thirty-three at Ashford.

THE "EXIT OF CALIBAN AND SHYLOCK."

To our friends of "THE REVOLUTION" who have not read the "Exit of Caliban and Shylock," I will say, get it immediately and have a fast. I have no knowledge of the author, not even his name: but that he has launched a work upon the world destined to prove a brilliant suc-

cess, requires no gift of prophecy to foretell. The title is a strange one, and not at first thought particularly happy or suggestive; but a careful reading will convince all, of its singular appropriateness. The "Exit of Caliban and Shylock" is a scholarly emanation from a thoughtful, earnest, live man; and as such cannot but commend itself to the refined and discriminating. Its exquisite and classical quotations and allusions make it invaluable to the metaphysical student. It so combines the ideal and the actual—the visionary and the practical, making so plain that blending which with the most of us is such a mystery—that as I finished the last page I was constrained to say—woman! woman! where have your senses been wandering these years? that you could not see "some things as well as others!"

ELEANOR KIRK.

In another column will we find extracts from the work to which our correspondent alludes.—*Eds.*

LITERARY.

HARPER'S Weekly came last week, beauteous in for the first time Harper's Bazaar beautiful as a bride. The former is an old and valued acquaintance, the latter had not before even honored us with so much as a call. It aims to be more than a mere fashion plate, and sound, orthodox authority on modes and styles; for it has several pages of reading matter, original and selected, poetry and prose, all good, much of it well up to the demands of this period of progress. It is published weekly at four dollars a year, ten cents a single copy.

PACKARD'S MONTHLY for November, devoted to the interests and adapted to the tastes of the young men of the country. New York: S. S. Packard, 937 Broadway. One dollar per annum. Why not, Mr. Publisher, say young women too? It would be no misrepresentation, and surely no discredit. Do not be too modest. You deal with problems affecting all classes immensely, if not alike, but especially the young of both sexes. And that is your credit and value. The Monthly thrills all hearts without being sensational in any offensive sense. Moral and social evils, in all their multitude and malignity, it is its province to expose and eradicate. May its patronage be worthy the herculean work it has in hand.

THE BENEDICT TIME WATCH.

THE enterprising firm of Benedict Brothers have now ready at their "up-town" establishment, 691 Broadway, an extensive and elegant assortment of Gold and Silver Watches for the Fall trade of 1868, to which they invite the attention of the readers of "THE REVOLUTION" and all others who desire a perfect TIME-KEEPER. Their stock comprises the various grades of the American Waltham and the choicest imported watches. They have also, in addition, a fine quality of watch which they have named the "Benedict Time Watch," they having the supervision of the manufacture of the movements, which are of nickel, which has proved to be a metal more durable than brass or other compound metals, and less liable to contraction or expansion by the fluctuating character of the temperature of this climate. This movement gives greater accuracy and requires less repairs than the others. Their stock of American Watches is unrivaled. All the various grades may be found at their counters at the lowest prices, regulated and in every respect warranted. The Messrs. Benedict Brothers have secured their reputation and extensive patronage by a strictly honorable course in conducting their business, selling the best of goods at fair prices. We feel safe in commanding this establishment to the consideration of our readers, and would say to all, if you want a good, reliable Watch, go to Benedict Brothers, up town, 691 Broadway.

SCISSORS SHARPENER.—We call attention to the Advertisement in another column of Pierce & Co. We have a Scissors Sharpener of the above firm and it works like a charm.

BEECHERISMS.—Rev. Thomas K. Beecher is shocking many ministerial brethren by his flippancy way of putting his opinions of their grounds of dispute and difference. He is grieved beyond expression, he says, "because of the evil work that is going on among the feeble Congregational and Presbyterian churches" in New York. "As if," he says, "any man in the world could tell any practical difference between the two denominations"—which he calls "Presby-tweedledum—Congre-tweedledee." A main difference between them which he sees, is that "in one, the ministers and elders meet in *Presbytery* and have a dull time; in the other, the ministers and delegates meet in *Association* and have a duller time." And he advises the churches in that field, which, by the working of the old Plan of Union have been so long "a little of both, and not much of either," to *cast lots*—now that the General Assembly has forced them to become squarely the one or the other—and call themselves by the name which shall thus be indicated.

ROYAL MAGNANIMITY.—When the Emperor of China became fully convinced of his inability to resist the British in the famous "Opium War," efforts were made to induce him to legalize the traffic in opium by laying a duty on its import, that should yield him a heavy profit. This he refused to do in these memorable words:

"It is true I cannot prevent the introduction of the flowing poison. Gain seeking and corrupt men will, for profit and sensuality, defeat my wishes, but nothing will induce me to derive a revenue from the vice and misery of my people."

THE HOMEOPATHIC MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY.

THIS Company, which appears by advertisement in our columns, seems to have been organized on modern principles, and to be willing to recognize the fact that the *World* has made some progress. It conspicuously advertises that it makes no invidious discriminations against women, but insures them at the same rate as men. It also reduces rates on all its classes of risks, and then makes a special deduction from these lower rates to those who use the Homeopathic practice. This is a long step toward the millennium, wherein there shall be no taking nor giving of physic.

The company is conducted with vigor and energy, and is in the hands of men who have a hospitable reception for every new and good idea.

Financial Department.

FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.—*America versus Europe*—Gold, like our Cotton, FOR SALE. Greenbacks for Money. An American System of Finance. American Products and Labor Free. Open doors to Artisans and Immigrants. Atlantic and Pacific Oceans for AMERICAN Steamships and Shipping. New York the Financial Centre of the World. Wall Street emancipated from Bank of England, or American Cash for American Bills. The Credit Foncier and Credit Mobilier System, or Capital Mobilized to Resuscitate the South and our Mining Interests, and to People the Country from Ocean to Ocean, from Omaha to San Francisco. More organized Labor, more Cotton, more Gold and Silver Bullion to sell foreigners at the highest prices. Ten millions of Naturalized Citizens DEMAND A PENNY OCEAN POSTAGE, to Strengthen the Brotherhood of Labor, and keep bright the chain of friendship between them and their Father Land.

THE REVOLUTION.

VOL. II.—NO. 18.

L. A. HINE VS. THE NATIONAL LABOR
PARTY PLATFORM.

OUR correspondent makes some strictures on our article by L. A. Hine in "THE REVOLUTION" of the 8th of October. We have not space to print his letter in full but give the main part of it.

Editors of the Revolution:

WHILE believing as I do that Land Monopoly is a great evil and much to be deplored—I am willing to unite with good men everywhere in any just efforts to destroy it—I must disagree with Mr. Hine in regard to its being the principal cause of the grossly unequal distribution of the proceeds of labor. For it must be apparent to all thinking minds, that so long as the power to regulate the value of money is delegated by the fundamental law of the land to the few capitalists (by fixing the rate of interest that it shall bear, for this is what gives it power over labor and property) and the great mass of producers, men and women, following useful occupations and professions, are deprived of a voice in this matter, although the soil were perfectly and absolutely free for all to cultivate who chose to do so. The capitalist would, through the accumulative power of money, absorb all the surplus productions of labor.

And further, Mr. Hine will find by a careful perusal of the platform that Land Monopoly is declared to be equal with the Money Monopoly, and as dangerous to the institutions of the country; and upon the motion of Susan B. Anthony this subject was referred to a special committee with instructions to report at the next congress.

Further I am compelled to disagree, as I think most reflecting minds will, with friend Hine, in regard to the results of interposing arbitrary power against the natural order of things.

All laws instituted for the restraint of the vicious and the protection of the virtuous are, and necessarily must be, arbitrary in their nature and effect. The law making the *gold dollar* a legal tender and measure of value is necessarily arbitrary as well as that giving the same power to the *greenback dollar*.

As Mr. Hine has given us three reasons why he dissents from the almost unanimous decision of the National Labor Congress, I will give my reasons for supporting that decision.

1st. It will give people a money uniform in value, uniform in volume, with little or no expense.*

2d. The power to regulate the value of the money will be vested in the people, who produce the values it is designed to represent, measure and exchange.

3d. It will be a truly convertible money which we have always wanted (but never had), convertible, at the option of the holder, into Government Bonds, bearing a just rate per cent. interest, the Bonds being reconveritible into money at the option of the holder; thereby giving the producer control of the value and volume at all times—which is the gist of the money plank as I understand it.

*Did not our correspondent intend to say *adjustable* in volume to the wants of the trade?—Eds.

4th. We do not want paper money redeemable in gold, for the idea of redemption carries with it the admission of worthlessness, we want nothing to circulate as such but absolute and perfect money.

5th. The powers of money are all legal and independent of the value of the material upon which they are expressed; or, in other words, money is a principle (instead of a material substance) which must be expressed upon some material to make it available in trade, to be determined alone by convenience and economy.

W. H. C.

MONEY AND CURRENCY AGAIN.

Editors of the Revolution:

LET me say a word or two in the hope that I may reconcile the views of the late D. W. with those of the present D. W., who quotes the former as follows: "All those things with which we effect our commercial transactions are currency." He adds, "that the volume of all this (currency) must be determined by the price and quantity of merchandise to be exchanged." These two propositions cover exactly the ground I took in my article of Oct. 8th. The sole object of a currency is "to represent and transfer commodities," and it makes an inextricably confused muddle to use for this purpose partly a true representative currency or measure of value and partly a special article of merchandise. Just so far as we use gold or silver for money we return to the old barter of barbarous periods.

I know of no reason why we should desire a currency that can be carried into foreign countries any more than we should wish to carry our railroads or other machinery abroad. And in point of fact we do not carry our gold and silver coin abroad as money. For all purposes of foreign remittance bullion is better than coin, and it is not as money but as merchandise that gold and silver have a commercial value. And it is because the value of gold and silver coin, depends upon the amount of fine gold and silver composing it and not upon its being coined into money, that it cannot be debased without depreciating its value as money.

Buying with coin is only a sort of barter, it is simply exchanging one kind of merchandise for another. It is quite important for the people under despotic governments to have money that has a commercial value as merchandise to prevent their rulers from cheating them, as they have often tried to do; but it is far different with us where the people are their own rulers and have no motive for cheating themselves. When all the "peoples" are free and universal harmony reigns over the entire globe there will be one currency (not gold or silver or other merchandise) for all, but until then a universal currency is neither practicable nor desirable.

If the "bankers in Europe" who think that gold "will not some years hence purchase half as much corn as at present" are correct, as I believe they are, our friend D. W. is not correct in asserting that the cost of gold and silver "is more uniform than in regard to other products." Neither is his assertion valid for the purposes of this argument, that the value of an hour's labor is not alike in any two persons. The true measure of value is the product of an hour's labor performed by the man best fitted for it. Every one can do an average amount of work at something or at several things, but each can do some things best. When each does

that which he is best adapted to, it will be found that the law of equitable exchange is hour's labor for hour's labor. Now, the most useless and the most agreeable labors are paid the best, while the most useful and necessary and repugnant labors are paid the least. This "male" dogma of the difference in the value of labor is the mean excuse for defrauding and degrading women by paying them a fraction of what men receive for less difficult and disagreeable work. The fact that gold and silver have a commercial value has not necessarily any more bearing on the question of money than the equally evident fact that corn and potatoes have a commercial value. What we want is that which, while it has no value in itself, shall represent and measure *all other values*, whether of metals or other useful products of labor, in order to facilitate equitable exchanges. Let me close with a formula or epigram *a la G. F. T.* Money ought not to be merchandise; merchandise ought not to be money. Discrimination shall be your salvation.

F. S. C.

Our correspondent makes a mistake, we think, in saying that "the true measure of value is the product of an hour's labor performed by the man best fitted for it." Money is the measure of value established by the governments of civilized nations; the rate of interest determining how much or how little that value shall be. Kellogg says :

Money is valuable in proportion to its power to accumulate value by interest. A dollar which can be loaned for twelve per cent. interest, is worth twice as much as one that can be loaned for but six per cent., just as a railroad stock which will annually bring in twelve per cent. is worth twice as much as one that annually brings in six per cent. The value of state, bank, railroad, or any other stock, is estimated by the dividends it will pay during the time it has to run. Any increase or diminution of the power of money to accumulate by interest, increases or diminishes proportionably its value, and consequently its power over property.

INTEREST AND LABOR.

I AM frequently asked by workingmen, what has this question of interest to do with us, we are not borrowers, neither have we money to lend? Let us see; the natural increase in the wealth of the nation in seventy years is less than four per cent.—say four per cent. per annum. Then it follows that any rate of interest above four per cent. is too much, and is running the nation in debt, while the increase of wealth was at the rate of four per cent. per annum, interest has averaged at least eight per cent. for seventy years. But if we take the last seven years we will find that the increase in wealth has not been over three per cent., while the rate of interest has averaged fully fifteen per cent., making an actual loss to productive industry of twelve per cent. per annum. This matter of interest is the source of all our financial panics. The man who spends more than his income must go to the wall sooner or later; and the nation that spends more than it produces must come to ruin. No nation on the globe ever did or ever can carry a rate of interest above the natural increase of wealth, without coming to financial ruin. The manufacturer, the farmer, the mechanic and the common laborer, each runs in debt, or each has a load of debt accumulating upon him, an ever increasing mortgage upon his energies—upon future labor to make up present deficiencies. The money lenders, and the whole horde of bankers, speculators and other gamblers, are day by day ac-

cumulating additional liens upon labor. This condition of things lasts about ten years, when labor breaks down under the load. Its resources are exhausted, the rate of interest can no longer be paid, the creditors begin to crowd the debtors, a "money panic" ensues, and financial ruin sweeps over the land, prostrating everything before it; debts are settled at a small per cent. on the dollar, bankrupt laws are enacted; we become a nation of individual repudiators—all the figures on the slate are wiped off. In this general ruin and mixing up of things, the bankers gather up all there is, and labor must make a new start. This operation is repeated every ten or twelve years. Interest acts like the tax gatherer; it enters into all things, and eats up the profits of labor. Labor marries a wife and supports a family. Labor needs food, clothing and rest. Labor works but six days in the week. Labor gets sick and has doctor's bills to pay. Interest works all the time; interest never gets tired; interest needs no clothing; interest never gets hungry; interest never gets sick; interest has no family to support and needs no almshouse when it gets old; interest produces nothing, but it consumes everything; it gathers together the products of labor, making the rich richer and the poor poorer. Interest produces nothing. All it does is to transfer the products of industry to the pockets of the money lenders, bankers and bondholders.

W. H. SYLVIS.

SEVEN PER CENT. INTEREST IN GOLD.

THE First Mortgage Seven per Cent. Sinking Fund Bonds of the Rockford, Rock Island and St. Louis Railroad Company, pay both Principal and Interest in GOLD COIN, FREE OF GOVERNMENT TAX.

Each Bond is for \$1,000 or \$2,000 Sterling, and is convertible into stock at the option of the holder. The coupons are payable Feb. 1st and Aug. 1st, in New York or London, at the option of the holder.

The Road runs from Rockford in Northern Illinois to St. Louis, a distance including tracks to Coal Mines, etc., of about 400 miles, and traverses the finest district of Illinois.

The Bonds have 50 years to run, and are a lien of \$21,000 per mile upon the Company's railroad franchises, in coal-lands—of which it has 20,000 acres containing A HUNDRED MILLION TONS OF COAL—its rolling stock, and property of every sort.

A subscription of \$8,800,000, at par, to the Capital Stock of the Company, furnishes a large part of the means required to construct and equip the road.

Nearly half the entire length of the road is graded and substantially ready for the iron; the rails are now arriving upon the line. The first division, giving an outlet to the coal, will be in operation in 60 days, and track-laying will from this time be prosecuted with the utmost energy till the last rail is in position. The Company intend to have the road in readiness for the Autumn business of 1869.

The Bonds are for sale at 97½ and accrued interest in currency, and may be obtained through bankers and brokers throughout the country, or at the office of the Company, 12 WALL STREET, New York.

The trustees for the Bondholders is the UNION TRUST COMPANY of New York.

Pamphlets giving full information sent on application.

H. H. BOODY, Treasurer.

THE MONEY MARKET

was stringent throughout the week, call loans ranging from 7 per cent. in currency to 1-16, ½, and in some cases ¾ per cent. commission added, and 7 per cent. gold interest. The weekly bank statement is unfavorable and shows a large falling off in the reserve, the legal tender being decreased \$5,120,486 and the loans \$1,213,264.

The following table shows the changes in the New York city banks compared with the preceding week:

	Oct. 24.	Oct. 31.	Differences
Loans,	\$263,579,183	\$262,365,869	Dec. \$1,213,264
Specie,	9,553,583	10,620,526	Inc. 1,066,943
Circulation,	34,193,938	34,253,210	Inc. 59,272
Deposits,	186,052,847	181,948,547	Dec. 4,104,300
Legal-tenders,	56,711,434	51,590,948	Dec. 5,120,486

THE GOLD MARKET

was steady at the close.

The fluctuations in the gold market for the week were as follows:

	Opening.	Highest.	Lowest.	Closing.
Saturday, Oct. 24,	135	135½	134½	134½
Monday, 26,	133½	134%	133½	134
Tuesday, 27,	134%	134%	134%	134%
Wednesday, 28,	134%	134%	133½	134%
Thursday, 29,	134%	134%	134%	134%
Friday, 30,	134%	134%	134	134%
Saturday, 31,	134	134	133½	134½
Monday, Nov. 2,	133½	133%	133	133%

THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE MARKET

was firmer at the close, prime bankers 60 days sterling bills being quoted 109½ to 110, and eight 110 ½ to 110½ Francs on Paris bankers long 5.15% to 5.15 and short 5.12½ to 5.11½.

THE RAILWAY SHARE MARKET

was active and excited with wide fluctuations, the amount of transactions for the week exceeding those of any other week for some time. On Tuesday and Wednesday the market was in a critical position, and on the verge of a panic owing to the extreme stringency of the money market, in addition to the persevering efforts of a powerful combination to break down prices. At the close the market was dull and irregular with a decline in prices.

Musgrave & Co., 19 Broad street, report the following quotations:

Cumberland, 34 to 40; W. F. & Co. 28½ to 29; American, 45 to 46½; Adams, 49 to 50; U. States, 46½ to 50; Mich't Un., 21 to 21½; Quicksilver, 22½ to 24; Canton, 47½ to 49½; Pacific Mail, 123½ to 123%; W. U. Tel., 36 to 36½; N. Y. Central, 125½ to 125½; Erie, 40½ to 40%; do. preferred, 64 to 71; Hudson River, 136½ to 137½; Reading, 98 to 98½; Wabash, 61½ to 62; Mill. & St. P. 97 to 97½; do. preferred, 97½ to 97½; Fort Wayne, 113½ to 113½ to 11½; Ohio & Miss., 30½ to 30%; Mich. Central, 117 to 119; Mich. Southern, 82 to 85½; Ill. Central, 144 to 145%; Pittsburgh, 86½ to 87; Toledo, 101½ to 102½; Rock Island, 104½ to 105; North West, 87½ to 89%; do. preferred, 90½ to 90%; B. W. P., 15 to 16½; B. H. & Erie, 27 to 30.

UNITED STATES SECURITIES

were steady and at the close active and strong with a considerable improvement in prices.

Fisk & Hatch, 5 Nassau street, report the following quotations:

Reg. 1881, 114 to 114½; Coupon, 1881, 115½ to 115½; Reg. 5-20, 1862, 116½ to 106%; Coupon, 5-20, 1862, 109½ to 109½; Coupon, 5-20, 1864, 107½ to 107½; Coupon, 5-20, 1865, 107½ to 107½; Coupon, 5-20, 1865, Jan. and July, 110½ to 110½; Coupon, 5-20, 1867, 110½ to 110%; Coupon, 5-20, 1868, 110½ to 111; Coupon, 19-40, Reg., 104½ to 104½; 10-40 Coupon, 105½ to 106.

THE CUSTOMS DUTIES

for the week were \$2,084,097 in gold against \$2,390,312, \$2,384,676 and \$2,784,350 for the preceding weeks. The imports of merchandise for the week were \$3,611,663 in gold against \$4,999,106, \$5,371,459 and \$4,057,449 for the preceding weeks. The exports, exclusive of specie, were \$3,339,694 in currency against \$3,351,454, \$2,753,889, and \$3,072,568 for the preceding weeks. The exports of specie were \$1,071,407 against \$29,724, \$410,313 and \$43,620 for the preceding weeks.

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Its assured are not confined to certain degrees of longitude, but are free to travel and reside where they please.

Its profits or surplus earnings are carefully ascertained annually, and DIVIDED to its members in exact proportion to their contributions thereto.

Its members are never required to pay more than two thirds of the premium, the balance remaining as a permanent loan (without notes) to be paid by the dividends.

Its funds are kept securely invested in the most unexceptionable and reliable form.

Its expenses are as LOW as the real interest of its members will permit; not one dollar is expended recklessly.

It pays every honest claim on its funds with the utmost promptitude.

It resists every attempt to rob its members by dishonest claims, or blackmailing pretences.

For further reasons, see Pamphlet and Circular, which will be sent by mail to any address if requested.

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ISAAC FROTHINGHAM, Treasurer.

WILLIAM J. COFFIN, Cashier.

18. ly.

QUEEN'S COUNTY TEACHERS' INSTITUTE—1868.

The next annual session will be held in the Public School Building in the village of Flushing, commencing at 10 a.m., on Monday, November 9th, and continuing two weeks. The Institute will be conducted by PROF. JAMES JOHONNOT, assisted by MRS. A. T. RANDALL.

Evening lectures will be delivered by PROF. ALDEN (of the Albany Normal School), PROF. JOHONNOT, MISS SUSAN B. ANTHONY, and other eminent educators and lecturers. Miss Anthony will address the Association on Friday evening, Nov. 13th.

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"I wish that every person of maturity throughout the length and breadth of the land may read it. Many of the most remarkable incidents of the war of the rebellion are woven together by the thread of an interesting story, told in a dashing, spirited style. Some defects I have; but, in comparison with its merits, they are too unimportant to dwell upon."—LYDIA MARIA CHILD.

I have read far enough to be greatly interested in it, and to wish that a copy were in the hand of every voter. God bless Anna Dickinson for this beautiful and effective testimony against the infernal spirit of caste!"—GERTRUDE SMITH.

"It is full of genuine feeling eloquently expressed, and is pervaded by a sublime sympathy with the oppressed and by a high and benevolent purpose. We are made to feel, in reading the book, that it is the work of a brave woman, one who has broken away from the dull and beaten path of prejudice and of conventional usage, and has the courage to follow withersoever the truth may lead."—FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

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No subject important enough to be discussed at all in its pages, is to be pronounced settled, and arbitrarily closed in deference to the popular sentiment. The alarm-bells of ignorance, bigotry, sentimental piety, wherever heard, it will allow to swing out their force unheeded. It does not believe that the world is to be upset, nor the providence of nature set on fire, or balked, by the frank expression of any man's or woman's opinion, on even the most delicate subjects; but quite the contrary. If there be virtue that is thereby imperilled, so frail a virtue is hardly worth the saving; the greater its peril the safer the morals of society. If there be any truth too timid to grant equal terms to error, it will be safer to have it routed until pride picks up its courage. THE RADICAL would not covertly suppress error, but openly, with full faith in human nature under the sway of freedom, win the day against it.

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AND OF
PROTECTING THE PUBLIC FROM FINANCIAL
REVULSIONS.

BY EDWARD KELLOGG.

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The author lays the axe at the root of the evils of our currency and financial system. *** He shows, what is undoubtedly true, that the monetary system of this and all other civilized countries tends rapidly to make the rich richer and the poor poorer. *** The tendency is everywhere the same from the same cause. The condition of the Irish peasant who raises good wheat and fattens fine pork, but is never able to taste either, because capital and taxes leave him nothing but potatoes to live upon, will become in time the condition of the producing classes of this and all other countries, if the existing monetary system remains. *** The author shows conclusively, that gold and silver are not, and cannot be, the representatives of value, that even, in what is called specie-paying times, these metals enter to a very limited extent into the transactions of business, and that the banks which are said to be on a specie basis never have a third of the precious metals on hand to meet their full liabilities. *** This shows that the writer had comprehensive views on the subject, for while his proposed currency is not exactly of the character of the greenback currency, they are alike in being uniform, national and based upon the credit of the government or country. *** He shows that a high rate of interest absorbs in the hands of capitalists all the profits of industry and leaves the producers poor. To remedy this, in connection with his system of a safety fund and a uniform legal tender currency, he would have Congress establish a low and uniform rate of interest for the whole country. We have not space here to go into the details of his scheme, which is novel and suggestive."—New York Herald.

It presents an acute analysis of the functions of money, and abounds in singularly suggestive ideas, which cannot fail to awaken the interest of the reader."—New York Tribune.

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